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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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22 November 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

## ROLE OF POLEMICS EXAMINED IN HOXHA WORK

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 18 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Nexhat Myftiu: "'Science has no Fear of Polemics': Studying the Summary of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, 'On Science'"]

[Text] In the two volumes of the book, "Per Shkencen" [On Science], just as in all the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, along with important problems which are treated in it, along with ideas, directives, conclusions, and teachings which are very valuable for the development of science, we also see the author's revolutionary Marxist-Leninist polemical spirit and vitality. The whole of Comrade Enver Hoxha's work is permeated with this spirit, with principled polemics, with contrasts of opinions, and with the spirit of scientific debate.

Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have accumulated rich and valuable experience in the use of polemics, debate, and confrontation of conflicts as a means of determining and always supporting a correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist attitude toward the most decisive questions of development of the socialist revolution in our country, as well as of worldwide development. Within this framework, particular distinction is attached to the great open, courageous, and principled polemics practiced by the AWP and by Comrade Enver Hoxha personally with modern revisionism, beginning with that of Titoist Yugoslavia, with Khrushchite, Chinese, Eurocommunist, etc., revisionism, regarding key problems of the revolution and the international communist movement. These polemics, developed not from the nationalist position, but for the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, to defend it from revisionist distortions and deviations, has been and will remain a contribution of special importance in the history of world communism.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, the method of principled debate has been at the foundation of various processes of revolutionizing the party and the whole life of the country, as well as of great popular discussions, etc. But debate, confrontation of opinions, and the polemical spirit are used widely and particularly in science, the development of which cannot be conceived of without the struggle of opposing viewpoints in this area. "There is no development in science - as everywhere else - without struggle, without the struggle of opinions, without the class struggle, without debate guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and by proletarian ideology in order to

find the correct way," Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes. This is understandable. Due to the complicated character and nature of science, truths are not discovered easily - with a stroke of a pencil or with a spoken word, but by means of thorough studies and analyses, by means of experiments, by means of discussions, debates, and confrontations of opposing opinions. Debate in science is dictated by the dialectic character of the process of knowledge and the process of discovering truth, which have been conditioned by social circumstances and the class struggle, which has developed continually in all areas. Speaking at a meeting of the Politburo of the AWP Central Committee on 8 December 1964 about debate and its value, the leader of the party stressed the fact that it is precisely from debates and discussions of opinions, from the opposition of opinions in a Marxist-Leninist scientific spirit that the truth emerges. "Debate," he emphasized, "yields great results in the development of science as well. Science has no fear of polemics."

Comrade Enver Hoxha gives valuable instructions especially for the Academy of Sciences and its institutions, as well as for all our scientists, who are very active in the development of scientific polemics and debates, because without them, it is not possible to create conditions for an active immunity against foreign ideological influences which it is imperative to confront. We, who overthrew a whole power, feudalism, and capitalism, and established the people's power, Comrade Enver says, must not be afraid of overthrowing and dismissing as valueless antiscientific views and theses which are incorrect. Nothing must hinder us from engaging in scientific debate against them, developing that debate from the assault position of defense of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and militant revolutionary science.

Comrade Enver teaches us that the art of polemics, which revolutionaries develop as an important means of discovering and clarifying objective truth, requires that it should be strongly supported on scientific theory and that in the development of polemics, in no case should its basic strategic task be forgotten: this may be expressed in Marx's words as "to serve the victory of science."

Our scientists develop scientific polemics and debates widely not only with foreign scientists, but also in their own environment - in the various organisms of scientific activity and in the scientific press. These polemics are also as useful as they are necessary. Unlike the polemics which are developed with foreign scientists and ideological opponents, these polemics are social - polemics among comrades and companions in arms. Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs that these polemics must become a permanent method of work and must be developed more widely by our scientists, without being afraid that strong polemics and debates among them will supposedly be exploited by our internal and external class enemies, and without being afraid that from debates and polemics harm will come to our unity of thought, spirit of collectivism, harmony in the collective, and in the scientific environment. Revolutionary scientists retain the right and, at the same time, the duty to lead science forward by means of confronting opposing opinions and combatting - in science as well - opportunistic and subjective attitudes and the spirit of concessions in the scientific environment. Science advances by

means of serious and creative discussions and constructive scientific criticism, but at the same time, our people are also educated and formed by advanced scientific thought.

In many of the materials in the collection, "Per Shkencen," there is emphasis on the important idea that debate is organized and developed correctly when it is based on and guided by the principle of proletarian party spirit, by our revolutionary class tendentiousness, and by Marxist-Leninist ideological principles in discussions. The conclusive purpose of every one of our polemics, therefore, even in science, is the affirmation of this party spirit. It also becomes clear that in the development of debate, there is an urgent need not only for the role of the scientist and not only for professional judgment to be felt more strongly, but also for the role of the masses and their free thoughts and opinions on various scientific problems. In our society, debate does not develop simply between two authors. A question under discussion is of interest to the whole party, to listeners, other scholars, readers, and the broad working masses. Comrade Enver also emphasizes that polemics are developed correctly when discussions are characterized by scientific principles, when they are strongly supported by convincing scientific facts and arguments, when the participants in polemics are in no way removed from scientific objectivity and the serious judgment of problems and when we do not permit any subjectivity, superficiality, and biased treatment of problems or the launching into debate of unfounded and undocumented opinions, the tendency to look for and find the truth hastily and by guesswork, by the biased turgidity of contradictions in thought and their artificial magnification beyond measure, etc., which leads to the degeneration of debate and scientific opinion. On the ethical and moral plane, too, polemics require a totally social atmosphere and spirit, they require discussions without the party leading and with good will, where the speakers are on an equal level and have an opportunity and right to voice openly every opinion that they have. This requires that the debate should be calm and not turn into a psychological battle, where importance is given to increasing the tone of instruction, which cannot be appealed, to the identification of viewpoints with the personal tastes, the scientific level, and the function of one or another individual. There is no place in scientific debates for unprincipled passions, personal anger, and initial preconceptions, discussions with denigrating intentions, the creation of coteries to attack one person or another, and seizing on some unimportant expression and not on the fundamental question raised for discussion. Our scientists, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs, must be guided in their work and polemics by the idea of developing and advancing science and not by the "I" of their egotism or by personal glory.

In studying the collection, "Per Shkencen," we understand once again that in polemics there is a need for broad erudition, which helps our scientists to make scientific confrontations and genuine science, not so that "the head should grind like a mill without grain."

Our science and our scientists, as is affirmed several times in Comrade Enver Hoxha's book, "Per Shkencen," are fully able to develop polemics, to defend important questions in meetings and in international scientific forums and to

draw the serious attention of foreign scientists to the development of theses which they have defended. They are not afraid of polemics, debates of ideas, and criticism, which, as Comrade Enver teaches, not only does not reduce its authority in any way, but - on the contrary - increases the value of our science. Our science is the kind that responds to fire with reasoned, true scientific fire on every problem. Our revolutionary science has gained this characteristic owing to the care of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha himself. They raised Albanian science to the heights where it is today and made it advance competently, giving it a mass character and linking it closely to production and to the overall development of our society, as well as polemicizing - without fear and from the firm Marxist-Leninist scientific position - with every antiscientific, incorrect, and non-Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, thesis, or attitude.

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BULGARIA

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CIVIL DEFENSE

Statement by General Borachev

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 8, 1985 pp 2-5

[Statement by Reserve Colonel General Demir Borachev, deputy chairman of Fatherland Front National Council: "Patriotic Objective of Public Organizations"]

[Text] In the very near future, progressive people throughout the world will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany. In the 40th year of peace, however, the military and political situation throughout the world, and especially in Europe, continues to be strained, contradictory, and complex, and the danger of nuclear war is more and more becoming a reality. "The foreign policy of the United States is assuming an increasingly militaristic character. It has become a constant negative factor in international relations which we must not fail to take into consideration," states Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Realizing just how great is the danger of war and being conscious of their responsibility for the fate of the world and socialism, the Warsaw Pact countries firmly and unequivocally state that they are not striving for military superiority, but that they will never allow the strategic military balance to be upset.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the people's government take as a guide in their sensible policy the Leninist principle that defense of the socialist homeland is indissolubly linked to the all-round struggle of the working people to build socialist society.

The civil defense system of Bulgaria occupies an extremely important position in the unified defensive system of the country. In his analysis of its role and importance in the general defensive system of the state, our first party and state leader, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, states that "well developed, integrated, and efficient defense of the country is inconceivable under modern conditions without well organized civil defense meeting present-day requirements." This qualitative characteristic determines the highly humane and profoundly patriotic essence of civil defense, which,

resting on the firm foundation of the extensive experience acquired by civil defense in the USSR, can carry on its activities only with the constant, active assistance of sociopolitical and mass organizations, scientific and cultural institutions, and all workers.

An exceptional role in this regard is assigned to the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian trade unions, the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, the Alliance of Active Fighters against Fascism and Capitalism, the Defense Assistance Organization, the Committee on Culture, the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, the Bulgarian Red Cross, the G. Kirkov Society for Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge, and others. In carrying out their varied activities, they are called upon to mobilize the Bulgarian people and constantly maintain and raise their class and party, military patriotic, and international awareness as a factor, prerequisite, and condition for successful solution of civil defense problems.

It is a source of satisfaction to me to note that considerable success has been achieved in the last few years in this direction. There has been improvement in cooperation between civil defense agencies and all elements of public organizations, cultural institutions, and mass information media. There has been improvement in collaboration among the public organizations themselves in carrying out civil defense measures. The leading role of party committees and Fatherland Front organizations among public organizations is increasingly exerted and felt in this direction.

Cooperation among civil defense agencies, public organizations, and scientific and cultural institutes is particularly good in Shumenski, Plevenski, Starozagorski, Blagoevgradski, Varnenski, Tolbukhinski, Gabrovski, Rusenski, Kyustendilski, Pazardzhishki, Mikhaylovgradski, Vrachanski, Velikoturnovski, and Khaskovski Districts and some of the rayons of Sofia.

One of the basic sectors in which public organizations, cultural institutions, and the mass information media are active is their broad and varied work in class and party, patriotic, and international education of the public and youth. Their energetic and purposeful work in this direction is creating favorable ideological preconditions and a psychological atmosphere for the success of specialized civil defense measures.

On the initiative of the Fatherland Front and other mass organizations, more and more often and in an increasing number of places various large-scale measures devoted to civil defense are being organized at the district, community, and national economic installation level. These measures take the form of days and evening events, weeks and assemblies, question and answer periods and contests, film slide lectures, film screenings, exhibits, reviews of the accomplishments of particular formations, and paramilitary games and field exercises.

Public organizations of creative artists and the mass information media make a substantial contribution to development of specialized civil defense propaganda and broadening the social basis of this propaganda. Extensive and purposeful activity to explain the contemporary military political situation and the resulting missions for strengthening civil defense is carried out in the form of lecture propaganda. With the assistance of the

local public, and above all of the cultural councils, there is a constant increase in the number of journalists, poets, writers, editors, and program directors assigning a more and more prominent place to the subject of civil defense in their creative work. Print, radio, and film propaganda and visual publicity on civil defense matters are being conducted on an ever larger scale and their quality is improving. Better results in print propaganda are being achieved in Rusenski, Khaskovski, Yambolski, Blagoevgradski, Vrachanski, Plevenski, Slivenski, Tolbukhinski, and Razgradski districts.

An extremely important area of activity by public organizations is that of ensuring active participation by the public in compulsory civil defense instruction and in measures for defense against mass destruction weapons and in measures taken in natural disasters and major industrial catastrophes. Profound ideological persuasion is a precondition for endurance under any testing, but without special knowledge and the necessary skill and ability a person would become a victim of enemy attack in modern war even if it were possible for him to save himself. Consequently, one of the basic missions of civil defense is to take steps in peacetime to educate the public in taking prompt and skillful action to defend against mass destruction weapons. Direct, active participation by public organizations in this area is an absolute necessity. The role of the Fatherland Front and its committees and residential organizations is irreplaceable in involving members of the public not employed in production in civil defense instruction. Of the same order of importance is the role of the Bulgarian trade unions in involving the employees of enterprises and establishments in civil defense instruction, as is also the role of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union in drawing school-age children into such instruction.

Both at the central and district headquarters and at the lower levels of public organizations there is now a clear understanding and correct evaluation of their position, role, and responsibility in civil defense instruction of the public. A large number of the activists of these organizations are undergoing special training in schools and courses and are participating in practical exercises and drills. They are acquiring considerable experience in guiding the members of their organizations in civil defense instruction.

Many community and neighborhood committees and presidents of local Fatherland Front organizations have a correct understanding of their position and appreciate the importance of their obligation to assist the civil defense agencies and to participate directly in preparing the public for defense. With their cooperation, mandatory instruction groups are formed, leaders are selected, and specialists are provided as instructors in the subjects covered.

The trade unions and Komsomol organizations cooperate actively with the civil defense headquarters in preparing services and formations for organization, conduct, and reporting of socialist competition in the contest for award of the title of Model Civil Defense Facility.

The Bulgarian Red Cross committees also engage in extensive and varied activities both in training the public in medical defense measures and in



training medical formations and students in military field camps and pioneer camps.

The Defense Assistance Organization makes a major contribution in military technical, moral and political, and mental preparation of a certain segment of the population, young people in particular, for defense of the country. A considerable part of its specific activity is associated directly with civil defense of the country.

Favorable results are achieved through the practice established in some districts of organizing working meetings of party committees and the directors of public organizations in communities and at facilities at which integrated exercises are to be conducted, with representatives of the district military administrations, and military reporting and civil defense sections and services. At these meetings specific measures are outlined for activating the personnel of the formations, employees, and the public having missions to carry out in the course of the integrated exercises. This practice is consistently followed in Blagoevgradski, Mikhaylovski, Shumenski, Gabrovski, and other districts.

However, in view of the demands made of civil defense in the contemporary international situation, we cannot remain satisfied with what has been accomplished in the past. There is a tendency in some places to underestimate both the real danger of war in general and the need for protective measures. Some believe that war is now impossible and are becoming complacent, while others think that any defensive measures would be useless in a modern war. Both approaches engender a passive attitude in people, and both of them are at variance with the marxist-leninist understanding of war and armies and do not conform to the class-party criterion. These incorrect approaches of course impede proper organization and execution of civil defense measures.

Mass political and propaganda work is not leading to satisfactory results in molding the necessary conviction of the advisability and urgency of measures for protecting the public and the national economy and for increasing their preparedness for functioning in a wartime situation. This may explain the effort of a number of administrative and economic officials to find ways and means of circumventing the engineering and technical rules of civil defense and other governmental regulatory documents in construction of public and industrial structures, in rebuilding and modernization of enterprises, etc.

Our mass political and propaganda work is not effective enough in the fight against formalism and oversimplification in civil defense instruction, which still are far from being rare in some places.

Not infrequently there are instances in which comrades who are members of the managements of public organizations avoid instruction in schools, courses, and assemblies.

There are still many deficiencies in organization and conduct of the integrated instruction and drills with headquarters, services, units, and the public. There are committees and leaders of local public organization

elements who do not exert all the effort of which they are capable in the preparation of measures. In some places unsuitable persons are appointed to serve on evacuation committees and as warning lookouts. Some presidents (secretaries) of local organizations are not familiar with the duties connected with their positions as set out in the civil defense plan, do not assume their proper positions in individual stages of exercises and the measures associated with them, and move around so much that they are unable to direct the activities of the management and activists to ensure prompt and efficient accomplishment of the missions assigned.

The work done to improve the moral and political preparation, psychological stability, and preparedness of the public to take appropriate action in a critical situation also does not fully meet present-day requirements.

The causes of the deficiencies in question are primarily subjective in nature.

Some of them are to be ascribed to the organizational work involved in planning and execution of joint measures. The planning of joint activities is not carried out everywhere on the basis of thorough evaluation of accomplishments and shortcomings and full interpretation of the missions deriving from the most recent party decisions, civil defense regulatory documents, and joint agreements. In this regard there is need for more energetic and systematic methodological assistance on the part of the civil defense authorities in bringing the requirements of these documents to the attention of the pertinent organization managements to the extent that the requirements apply to them.

Supervision and assistance as an integral part of organizational work to ensure accomplishment of projected missions and measures have not been raised to the requisite level. In most cases they are episodic and are carried out piecemeal.

The measures taken to provide moral and material incentives for joint activities are still limited. Nor has a satisfactory solution been found to the problem of converting the civil defense competition to a component of the general competition in the collective concerned.

Not enough is being done for study, dissemination, and application of the positive experience acquired in the work of public organizations and mass information media on civil defense problems.

The required public intolerance of inadequacies is not generated everywhere, and energetic effort is not exerted to improve the quality and effectiveness of every lesson and every measure and to ensure attendance by all persons liable for instruction.

Formalism, routine, and traditionalism have not been eliminated from civil defense propaganda. In some districts, communities, and installations it still has not occupied its proper place as part of the unified political and ideological work to enhance the defensive capability of the country. The publications of sociopolitical organizations and other periodicals have not dedicated themselves sufficiently to this activity.

The question of assigning reserve officers to active duty has not been resolved everywhere.

Not enough public pressure has been exerted on the administrative and economic authorities in some places to bring about further development and improvement in the supply of civil defense training aids in communities, municipalities, and facilities, as well as the most rational possible use of these aids. In some populated areas not enough importance is attached to the task of outfitting radiation-proof shelters for the entire population. This task has not been fully carried out even in villages where there are enough basement and ground-level rooms suitable for this purpose.

Only slowly is the experience of the leading districts being absorbed and applied in construction of training facilities and provision of equipment and materials for civil defense propaganda.

To eliminate the existing deficiencies and effect more decisive increase in the contribution made by public organizations, cultural organizations, unions of creative artists, and mass information media to preparation of the public for civil defense, efforts should in our opinion be aimed in the following directions.

In the spirit of the party requirements regarding revolutionary thinking and action, more decisive steps should be taken to improve the style and method of work of all agencies, management staffs, and officials in carrying out their missions and duties deriving from party decisions and civil defense regulatory documents and from the positions which they occupy in the political system of our socialist society.

A suitable place should be assigned to these problems, either independently or in conjunction with other questions, at party bureau meetings and plenums, at seminars and briefings, and at the assemblies of local elements. It is useful and advisable for the management personnel and the members of sociopolitical and mass organizations to be rated on their activities in this field as well as on the other aspects of their work.

The system of on-the-spot supervision and assistance and individual work with persons should be even further strengthened and improved.

Greater care should be devoted to civil defense instruction of the local elements in public organizations, including the chairmen of building councils, who have responsible missions to perform in compiling the shelter and evacuation lists, reacting promptly to changes which have arisen, and in rendering the necessary assistance to the elderly, disabled, and sick.

There should be ongoing expansion and consolidation of the associations, cooperation, and collaboration of public organizations and the mass information and propaganda media with the civil defense authorities as represented by the civil defense commanders and staff of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the district military administrations and their civil defense divisions, and the elements subordinate to them in the communities and national economic facilities. The experience accumulated in this connection

should be developed and improved, and new forms and initiatives should be found and applied.

The joint decisions made by public organization managements and civil defense headquarters should be reviewed and updated in the near future so as to reflect the experience acquired and the changes which have taken place over this period, and above all to conform to the new requirements and missions.

Now more than ever it is necessary to improve the quality, dynamic nature, and aggressiveness of mass political work and propaganda in defense matters. The activists in this area are called upon to reveal clearly and convincingly the militaristic course on which the United States and NATO have embarked, to disclose the slanders, sabotage, and disinformation aimed at discrediting the political system of socialism and at encouraging anti-socialist ideas and attitudes. All forms and means of propaganda must be used to fight against manifestations of pacifism, nihilism, indifference, and passiveness, to implant deep class hatred toward the enemies of the homeland and socialism and unshakable faith in the rightness of our cause and in triumph over imperialism, and to explain the need for strengthening the unity of the socialist community headed by the USSR.

Under present-day conditions particular importance is assumed by the work done to instill and develop high moral and political qualities and all-round psychological stability in the people, so that they will act energetically, with presence of mind, and courageously in emergency situations.

Accomplishment of these missions requires unification of the efforts of all public and government authorities, cultural institutions, unions of creative artists, and the mass information media.

#### Statement by General Papazov

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 8, 1985 pp 5-7

[Statement by Colonel General Tencho Papazov, civil defense chief of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and deputy minister of national defense, at national conference to increase the contribution made by sociopolitical and mass organizations to civil defense preparedness held in Sofia in June 1985: "In Keeping with Party Requirements"]

[Text] I feel it my duty first of all to express my satisfaction and gratitude of the civil defense headquarters and party political apparatus of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the organizers and participants in this first national conference of its kind devoted to civil defense problems. We regard it as an expression of correct understanding and a responsible attitude on the part of public organizations and unions toward the major and essential missions performed by civil defense in increasing the defensive capabilities of our country.

Taking heed of the great Lenin's dictum that "any revolution is meaningful only when it is able to defend itself," the Bulgarian Communist Party, along with performing its tasks in connection with building of a developed

socialist society, is doing everything necessary to ensure the defense of the country, to increase the combat and mobilization readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army and the civil defense system.

Under present-day conditions civil defense is an important component of the integrated defensive system of the country. The nation-wide defense measures being carried out are aimed at protecting the public and the national economy from mass destruction weapons and other enemy means of attack and at completion of rescue and urgent emergency repair operations at epicenters of destruction and in areas afflicted by natural disasters and major industrial catastrophes.

Successful execution of the civil defense measures is the result of coordinated efforts by the ministries, departments, economic organizations, and people's councils. The entire population of the country is involved in carrying out these measures.

Public organizations and unions and the mass information media play an important part in accomplishing the wide variety of civil defense missions. Their cooperation with the district military administrations and other specialized civil defense agencies in districts and communities contributes toward making their activities more purposeful in implementing party decisions on preparation of the population and the country for defense. The meetings held and the joint decisions made in recent years have contributed toward making the civil defense work of sociopolitical and mass organizations more active. Most of the district and community managements of the organizations now include in their plans specific, purposeful measures to promote mandatory instruction of the public and employees and make their contribution to accomplishment of missions for safeguarding the lives of men and animals and preservation of material and spiritual assets.

In a number of districts, communities, townships, and facilities the local managements take active part in the planning, organization, and conduct of mass political and propaganda work to step up the activity of the personnel of headquarters, services, and formations and of the public in carrying out civil defense measures.

It is standing practice for the Fatherland Front committees, trade union committees, and cultural councils, with the active assistance of the civil defense authorities, to organize the presentation of lectures, broadcasting of radio programs, screening of films, and preparation of graphic and other propaganda measures.

The managements of public organizations engage in active political and propaganda work in the holding of civil defense inspections and contests and celebration of special civil defense days and weeks and in carrying out other measures, which encounter considerable interest on the part of the public and often are transformed into a town or village holiday.

In recent years the combined activities of civil defense headquarters and trade union managements have increased the ability of the unions to link socialist competition held by enterprise staffs with the performance of

civil defense missions. Increasingly varied forms are applied in joint activities with the Bulgarian Red Cross to ensure establishment and efficient training of medical formations. Positive changes have also been made in joint activities of the civil defense system and the Cultural Committee and its subdivisions and with the national council of the Georgi Kirkov Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, as a result of which the quality of radio, lecture, and print media propaganda has been improved.

We are engaging in systematic efforts to involve creative artists and cultural figures in the creation of literary, pictorial, and musical works devoted to civil defense. The annual contests organized by the civil defense headquarters and party political apparatus contribute to reaching this goal.

It may be inferred from what has been said that positive changes have taken place in the joint work of civil defense headquarters and divisions with sociopolitical organizations, creative artist unions, and mass information media. In many places this joint work is organized and purposeful. A number of new and more efficient forms and methods have been introduced in practical accomplishment of this activity, and the scope of the activity has been increased.

Despite the success achieved, we believe that the activities of the mass organizations and creative artist unions in civil defense matters still are not being carried out in keeping with the requirements set by the party for enhancing the defensive capabilities of the country. The necessary thoroughness and competence are not always applied in planning and execution of civil defense measures. Not all district and community mass organization and union managements and civil defense authorities exhibit the requisite diligence and initiative in intensifying joint activities and in studying and disseminating the positive experience gained.

The Fatherland Front and trade union managements still leave something to be desired as regards total involvement of employees and the unemployed public in mandatory civil defense instruction. The mission of precise location and adaptation of basements to serve a radiation-proof shelters is not being carried out in a number of places. This is a highly important and urgent mission which is to be carried out through close cooperation among the district military administrations, the Fatherland Front, and tenants' councils.

We still must express dissatisfaction with the activities of the publications of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, and the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union. The newspapers OTECHESTVEN FRONT, TRUD, and NARODNA MLADEZH devote hardly any space to the problems of civil defense and the measures resulting from joint activities. The questions of specialized lecture propaganda by the G. Kirkov Society still have not been fully resolved, and the number of well trained lecturers is still small.

The importance and urgency of this conference and of all our joint activities are determined above all by the times in which we live, the current

military and political situation, which continues to be extremely tense and to occasion serious alarm.

This leads to the necessity, without giving rise to war psychosis, of our maintaining a high political vigilance both among cadres and the people and of generating moral and political understanding and readiness to defend the country and socialism even under the most difficult and complex conditions.

Consequently, we must intensify our attention and efforts to ensure further development and improvement of joint activities of public organizations and creative artist unions with civil defense authorities in order to make these activities more efficient.

It is necessary for this purpose above all to improve the quality, militancy, and aggressiveness of political and propaganda work conducted in the course of joint activities. Fuller and more efficient use must be made of all available forces and opportunities at both the national and the local levels. The mass information media play an especially important role in this respect.

An extremely important precondition for success in our work is radical, profound change in the attitude and actions of management organs and officials, in their approach to civil defense missions, since, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, no matter what question we raise, it ultimately resolves to one thing, the need for a new, revolutionary approach in thought and action.

The change in the way of thinking and approach to civil defense missions must inevitably lead to a search for new and more efficient forms of joint work, to establishment of closer and more active contacts between the central and local managements of sociopolitical and mass organizations and civil defense authorities.

It is sound practice to organize meetings and take specific measures at various levels to ensure accomplishment of the missions assigned by the Bulgarian Communist Party, as well as the recommendations of this conference, and to effect a new qualitative leap in practical preparation for defense of the public and the national economy from mass destruction weapons and other agents, for the sake of active and conscious participation in civil defense measures.

Comprehensive organizational, political, and ideological educational work must now center around the problems associated with prompt application of the results of scientific and technical progress in the area of civil defense.

This requires more active public support and cooperation to overcome conservatism and more resolute use of opportunities locally to ensure application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in civil defense administration, in training of cadres, formations, and the public, in solving problems of defense, and in further development and improvement of training aid resources. It is essential to achieve better practical results.

We believe that it is imperative to continue the joint efforts toward further improvement in differentiated training of management and executive personnel of public organizations and of mass information media.

In addition, the district military administrations and our other authorities must find suitable forms and methods of familiarizing the managements of public organizations to the extent required with party and government regulatory documents on civil defense.

We believe it to be absolutely essential to solve, with the assistance of the Central Union of Bulgarian Trade Unions and its local agencies, the problem of civil defense competition in national economic installations as an integral part of the overall system of competition in labor collectives. This is in harmony with the spirit of Decree No 265 of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on civil defense. Section 5 of the Decree provides that the basic civil defense measures relating to protection of the public and the national economy are to be included in the socioeconomic development plans of economic sectors, government departments, and people's councils.

I appeal to the representatives of creative artist unions to strive for more active participation by creative artists in production of literary, musical, and graphic works devoted to the life and activities of civil defense soldiers and commanders.

The Civil Defense Headquarters of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is convinced that this conference will give a strong impetus to our joint activities. It is certain that the joint initiatives for patriotic military education of the public and public instruction in civil defense will continue to be regarded, understood, and valued by sociopolitical and mass organizations and unions, as they have been in the past, as an integral part of the vast activities and efforts of the party to strengthen the defensive capabilities of our socialist homeland and safeguard the peaceful labor of the people.

The harsh lessons of history oblige us to display high vigilance and strengthen our ability to defend ourselves.





BULGARIA

MEASURES TO IMPROVE CIVIL DEFENSE PREPAREDNESS OUTLINED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1985 pp 2-4

[Article by Lieutenant General Dobrin Dimitrov, deputy civil defense commander of Bulgaria: "Lasting Knowledge and Practical Skills in Training"]

[Text] Compulsory universal training of the public in protection against modern weapons is one of the most important missions of Bulgarian civil defense. The fundamental aim is to impart the necessary knowledge to citizens and to have them acquire practical skills in protecting themselves against mass destruction weapons and other means of attack.

Very much has been done in recent years to assure successful completion of the great variety of highly complex civil defense missions and attainment of training goals. Party and government agencies have displayed heightened concern, and regulatory acts have been issued, Decree No 265 of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Instructions on Organization and Conduct of Compulsory Universal Civil Defense Training of the Public. These documents have made the subject matter, goals, and missions of civil defense clearer and more specific.

Management and control by the central and local civil defense authorities have been improved, and the individual responsibility and participation of administrative and economic managers in execution of missions deriving from the regulatory documents has been increased. The organization and management of classes and exercises have been improved, and the pace of trainee activities has been stepped up.

Over the 1981-1985 period the majority of the population, especially laborers and office workers, assimilated and reinforced the necessary knowledge and skills needed for protection against modern means of destruction, for taking correct and skillful action under danger of enemy attack and when civil defense signals are given. There has been an increase in the knowledge and practical skills of citizens in rendering self-help and mutual aid at epicenters of destruction, in natural calamities, and in industrial accidents. The required minimum of knowledge on dispersal and evacuation has been acquired. The political morale and mental preparedness of the population has been raised, as has also public confidence in the effectiveness of protective civil defense measures.

Differentiated instruction of the management personnel of governmental, industrial, public, and scientific agencies and organizations has for the most part reached the goals assigned. The persons receiving instruction have expanded and deepened their knowledge and skills in organizing and carrying out measures to protect the public and enterprises from modern means of destruction, in remedying the consequences of enemy attacks, natural disasters, and industrial accidents, and in increasing the stability of work at national economic facilities in wartime.

Along with the success achieved in compulsory training, there have also been certain deficiencies in differentiated instruction of management personnel. As a result, some of the trainees, especially the unemployed public, have not fully mastered the basic methods of protection against modern weapons and of applying them skilfully in practice. In individual cases uncertainty is displayed in carrying out the actions involved in occupying shelters and in observing the rules of conduct in them. There is a lack of firmly entrenched skill in constructing shelters and in adapting living areas, basements, and other rooms to serve as radiation-proof shelters. Some members of the public are not familiar with their duties when faced with the danger of enemy attack and in giving civil defense signals and are unable to prepare their dwellings, food, and water supply for protection. They are not thoroughly familiar with the rules of conduct and action at epicenters of mass destruction. Many of the trainees find it difficult to meet the standards for protection against mass destruction weapons. The psychological stability of some members of the public is still not sufficient for functioning in a complicated and tense situation.

The causes of the deficiencies in question are primarily subjective. A great number of the civil defense commanders and chiefs of staff and of training group directors are not familiar with and do not meet the requirements set in the regulatory documents as regards organization and conduct of the training process. In some ministries, central departments, sociopolitical organizations, districts, communities, and installations, missions connected with compulsory training of the public and differentiated instruction of management personnel are still depreciated and disparaged. Complacency with past accomplishments is displayed both by some members of the public and by individual managers, even if only in individual areas. Ideological education and propaganda work is still inadequate in this respect. There is a lack of tight organization and control of the instructional process, quality selection and preparation of instructional group leaders, and high effectiveness and practical direction of the instructional process.

Such in general outline are the findings derived from the results of the five-year period of training the public and civil defense commanders. On the basis of these results, the requirements of the regulatory documents, and the incessant aggravation of the international situation by the United States and NATO, certain new elements have been introduced into the new program for training the public and administering differentiated instruction to civil defense commanders over the 1986-1990 period.

What are they?

The main feature of the public training program is represented by the higher requirements set for practical orientation of the instructional process. The program has been drawn up for a training period of 5 years with a total range of 75 hours, at the rate of 15 hours per year. The increase in the number of hours is due to the objective requirement for more thorough study and mastery of questions and actions connected with carrying out protective measures. The higher requirements for practical orientation of instruction are due to the subject matter of the classes and the way in which the classes are conducted. In the total training period, 60 percent of the classes are practical in nature and 40 percent are theoretical, but even the theoretical studies include elements of practical demonstration. This will not fail to improve the knowledge and practical skills of the trainees in carrying out civil defense activities.

Another important element in the new program is that the instruction has been more methodically planned. In contrast to the program for the 1981-1985 period, in which a single form of instruction was administered in individual years, topics and questions from all sections of the previous program will now be studied. This will lead to more systematic mastery of the material and linking of individual training periods, topics, and instructional questions. Film screenings will be an integral part of the classes, and exercises to meet civil defense standards will be elements of the recapitulatory (final) classes. The new program also includes subject matter for the fifth year of instruction. The treatments of the topics are more concrete and are marked by their more practical orientation. Analytical studies have also been prepared for the concluding classes. Thus, the program will provide the trainees with more lasting knowledge and practical skills, greater confidence in the effectiveness of civil defense measures, and greater discipline and readiness to perform civil defense duties in a complex and tense situation. The political morale and preparedness of the trainees for bold and decisive action under conditions of enemy use of modern means of destruction will be heightened, and there will be developed in them a sense of higher responsibility for preparation to protect themselves and the members of their families, children in particular.

There are also new elements in the methodological instructions for the program. Particular attention is devoted to the leaders of the instructional groups and their training, as well as to the civil defense command agencies in districts, communities, and national economic installations in connection with organization and conduct of the training process. The civil defense commanders are given the right, in keeping with the specific conditions, the level of trainee preparation, and the appearance of new weapons, to plan and conduct additional classes. Training in public participation in a comprehensive installation (community) exercise is scheduled for the fourth year of instruction. However, it may be held during a year other than the fourth, if the material of the first 3 years has been mastered and depending on the period for which the exercise involving public participation has been scheduled.

The instructional method handbook prepared each year in accordance with the public training program provides valuable assistance in instruction. It is

intended for use by the class instructor and includes model methodological treatments of individual topics. Hence its use requires a creative and resourceful approach.

The differentiated training of civil defense management personnel over the 1986-1990 period has also been placed on a sounder basis. The program which has been drawn up is more specific and purposeful, calling for more extensive differentiation of instruction. It has been prepared for a five-year instruction period running to a total of 100 hours, at the rate of 20 hours per year. General and special training exercises will be conducted every year, each lasting 6 hours. Participation in instruction and other practical civil defense measures for 8 hours is also scheduled. Particular attention is devoted to the practical aspect of instruction; one-third of the classes are practical or group exercises.

A program this purposeful and extensive creates the preconditions needed for reaching the goal of instruction, increase and improvement in the civil defense preparedness of command personnel and specialists, so as to enable them to take measures successfully to protect the public and the national economy in peacetime and wartime.

Differentiated instruction of command personnel is organized and supervised by administrative and economic managers and is administered by well trained instructors and specialists. To increase the effectiveness of instruction and reach the goals assigned for it, specialized agencies of the ministries, the central departments, and the heads of the district military administrations provide methodological assistance, guidance, and supervision to assure regular and efficient conduct of the instructional process.

A new element in training the public and command personnel is that practical instruction is placed on a broader standardized basis. To reinforce the knowledge, abilities, and skills of the persons undergoing instruction, recapitulatory (concluding) classes, in which completion of a specific standard output is mandatory, are organized at the end of every training year. It is advisable for them to assume the form of a competition and be of the nature of a contest, both between the trainees in the group and between different instructional groups. Depending on the specific conditions, by decision of the appropriate administrative and economic managers drills may be held involving prolonged presence even at work stations while wearing gas masks.

The concluding stage in civil defense training of the public is participation by the latter in comprehensive installation (community) exercises. The entire population is involved in the exercises, which take place under conditions approximating the actual. Particular attention is devoted to advance preparation. The entire array of subjects, from warning of the danger of enemy attack to remedying the consequences of hostile assaults, is to be worked through in the course of the exercise.

Highly efficient and intensive civil defense exercises are inconceivable unless modern training aids are available and wide use is made of technical training aids and visual aids. A civil defense training ground (area)

and a civil defense office (corner) is to be set up in every installation (community). It is also desirable for psychological preparedness training zones to be outfitted in district towns and and large populated areas.

Accomplishment of the program for training of the public and differentiated instruction of command personnel requires intensification of purposeful action by all civil defense agencies and elements in connection with planning, organization, and conduct of the training process.

The training orders of the civil defense commanders provide the basis for the compulsory training of the public and differentiated training of command personnel. On the basis of these orders the chiefs of staff draw up training plans and schedules for their execution. Special attention is devoted to selection and training of the directors and to formation of the groups.

In honor of the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, taking as their guide the party's motto of high quality and efficiency in all places and in all things, all civil defense agencies and elements, committees and organizations of the Fatherland Front, Bulgarian Red Cross, BPS, Komsomol, and administrative and economic agencies will unquestionably exert all possible effort to ensure successful accomplishment of the missions and aims of training over the 1986-1990 period.

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BULGARIA

VANCHEV ON ROLE OF COMMUNICATIONS IN CIVIL DEFENSE

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1985 pp 20-21

[Interview with Pando Vanchev, minister of communications and head of National Communications and Warning Service, by Evstati Tsolov; date and place not specified]

[Text] Comrade Pando Vanchev was born on 6 October 1919 in the village of Uzundzovo, Khaskovski District. As a gymnasium student he was a member of the Agrarian Youth Union, and later as a student in Bratislava he took active part in the struggles by progressive students and in the Slovak national uprising against the National Socialist occupiers. He is an active fighter against fascism and capitalism.

In 1946 Pando Vanchev completed his studies in electrical engineering in Prague and worked in Czechoslovakia for 2 years.

In 1948 he went to work in the Ministry of Electrification, making his contribution as a specialist to construction of a number of major national power engineering projects. Until 1956 he was regional electrification director and participated very actively in the construction of Dimitrograd. In the same year he was elected deputy chairman of the district people's council in Khaskovo, and chairman of this council in 1967, which position he held until his appointment as minister of communications.

In 1962 Pando Panchev became a member of the board of directors of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and in 1971 a member of the standing committee of the Union.

As people's representative from Khaskovski District, he participated in the proceedings of the 5th National Assembly. In the 6th Assembly he was elected a member of the Council of State, and 7th and 8th National Assemblies displayed great trust in him, appointing him to serve as minister of communications of the Bulgarian People's Republic. He has been awarded high government distinctions.

[Question] Comrade Vanchev, in what areas of communications is the fullest use currently made of the achievements of scientific and technical progress?

[Answer] Communications, a vigorously developing system, has always reflected the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress in the area of electrical engineering and electronics. They have been made predominantly in this sector. The vigorous development of our economy has unquestionably determined the cardinal role of communications in management of the national economy. This in turn obliges us to introduce all the achievements of technical progress in the area of telecommunications. Consequently, the development of analog systems is now paralleled by the beginning of introduction of digital systems, which ensure much higher quality and speed of information transfer. New kinds of electronic and microprocessor systems are being introduced to monitor the technical condition of communications. Digital central offices are making their appearance in communications engineering, for both telephone and telegraph applications.

As is known, satellite communications are successfully maintained with many countries throughout the world by way of ground and space stations.

[Question] What still remains to be done to ensure dependable and stable telephone, telegraph, and other forms of communication from the viewpoint of civil defense interests?

[Answer] The dependability of the communications system depends on the level of the equipment adopted, which, as you know, still does not measure up to world standards. In order for our system not to be vulnerable to natural and other disasters, we are stepping up the pace of cable installation in our transmission network, and many trunk lines are backed up by radio relay lines. The system itself is being built with lateral bypass routes ensuring higher dependability in any situations which may arise. We are now testing optical cable systems, which will be placed in service in the next few years. These systems will increase the reliability and safeguarding of information transmitted, since optoelectronics is not affected by external electromagnetic influences.

[Question] Would you give us an idea of how the training of civil defense communications units is carried out? What are the problems, trends, and prospects?

[Answer] During the 1984 training year, units of the National Communications and Warning Service did their work with a high sense of responsibility for successful implementation of the historic resolutions of the 12th Bulgarian Communist Party Congress and the National Party Congress relating to further intensification of training in certain activities. Much effort was exerted over this period to increase the supply of training materials by addition of training aids to existing classrooms and construction of new ones, in Plovdiv, Tolbukhin, and elsewhere. It should be stressed that training of the units is proceeding according to schedule. Our efforts this year are aimed at further improvement in training equipment resources, bringing the units up to the prescribed strength, and heightening the visual impact of instruction.

A matter to which I think we ought to pay greater attention in the training of units to ensure efficient use of these units in a critical situation is achievement of the closest possible cooperation with forces and means in

action under complex conditions at epicenters of destruction, in natural disasters, and in major industrial catastrophes.

Problems are still encountered in the area of technical equipment and adequate provision of resources for prompt repair of damage to cable structures and timely establishment of local communications in the situations indicated.

[Question] The experience gained in the Vrancea earthquake shows that there are also cases of insufficient psychological stability of employees working in the communications system. What measures are being taken and what is being done in this direction?

[Answer] The recent destructive earthquake of 4 March 1977 with epicenter in the area of Vrancea, Romania, was felt in Bulgaria and caused a number of difficulties and damage to the communications system. Three telephone offices were disabled, in the village of Maslarevo, Velikoturnovski District, Novo Selo, and the town of Dve Mogili in Rusenski District. The technical parameters of international and domestic communications were impaired, and the quality of communications deteriorated, in Veliko Turnovo, Ruse, Sofia, Varna, and Svishtov. There were also abnormal delays in communications with the afflicted areas.

What were the basic causes of these phenomena? Interruption of electric power supply, lack of training in prompt restoration of communications, and an inadequate mobile reserve of communications equipment. The morale and psychological stability of some of the persons operating the communications system in the afflicted areas proved to be inadequate.

An earthquake, which is one of the most dangerous natural disasters, naturally has a negative effect on the stability of the communications and warning system and on civil defense. Following the incident in question, the management of the Ministry of Communications and the National Communications and Warning Service conducted a thorough study, both at the national level and locally, and organized a number of measures to improve the stability of the national communications system. Much attention was devoted to inculcation and development in personnel of high morale and psychological stability for work under conditions generated by natural disasters and major industrial catastrophes, so that there will be no abandonment of work stations in a complex situation such as occurred in Romania, at Svishtov, and elsewhere.

[Question] There are a number of instances of decisive, even heroic, action by civil defense military and civilian personnel in remedying the consequences of natural disasters. Some of them surely occurred last winter in restoration of individual sections of the communications system in Bulgaria. Could you tell us about some of them?

[Answer] The interurban overhead wire lines were iced over on 12 and 13 February 1985 as a result of the unusually low temperatures, icing, and heavy snowfall in Burgaski District. A layer of ice 4 to 5 centimeters thick formed on the wires. The heavy load on the wires and posts and the



strong northeasterly wind caused extensive damage to the communications system. Telephone service was interrupted in 124 populated areas in the district. Damage was done to 576 overhead interurban communication lines, 1756 kilometers of telephone lines were disconnected, 202 posts were disconnected and 572 broken, and 181 lines in the radiotelephone network were damaged over a total length of 546 kilometers. A total of 33 urban telephone networks were damaged over a total length of 120 kilometers.

An emergency headquarters was immediately set up to direct operations for repair of the damage. A detailed schedule was drawn up for each installation. Deputy minister Ivan Marinov went to the district to direct the restoration operations locally.

The civil defense units of the repair and rescue teams (VSK) in Burgas and of the emergency repair groups (AVG) in Aytos, Karnobat, Grudovo, and Pomorie began to organize restoration work at the very outset. The units operated under the direct control of their commanders at some installations. Nine cable line units were dispatched to assist them from the district communications administrations in Shumen, Veliko Turnovo, Smolyan, Plovdiv, Sliven, Stara Zagora, Varna, Tolbukhin, and Turgovishte.

All the groups displayed high labor heroism. They worked under extremely difficult conditions, a temperature of minus 15-20 degrees, snowfall, and strong wind, but they did not give up. In particular, members of many years standing of the Burgas repair and rescue team formations--Radko Arsenov, Kalcho Dimov, Georgi Dobrev, Nikola Nikolov, Todor Yanakiev, Georgi Cholakov, Atanas Lechev, Gocho Gospodinov, Stoyan Petrov, and many others--distinguished themselves during those difficult days. Prominent positions in the Aytos emergency repair groups were held by Todor Boshev, Petko Dulbokov, Stoyan Krumov, Stefan Apostolov, and Nikolay Shestakov, in the Grudovo emergency repair group by Stoyko Kalpachkiev, Georgi Terziev, Georgi Basnarov, and Ivan Stoychev, in the Karnobat emergency repair group by Georgi Radev, Petur Popov, and Georgi Nalbantov, and in the Pomorie emergency repair group by Kiril Kostadinov, Petur Todorov, Kosta Tomov, Zlatko Kolev, Atanas Laskarov, and others.

Outstanding service was rendered by specialists dispatched to render assistance from the line cable sections in Veliko Turnovo, Plovdiv, Shumen, and Smolyan. Not a single group can be pushed into the background. All of them worked unselfishly and with a sense of responsibility. To restore communications service to the last settlement in the Karnobat area, the Plovdiv group on its own initiative remained 2 days longer than the others.

The struggle by man and equipment against snow, ice, and wind went on for 10 days, and communications service was restored throughout Burgas District despite the great difficulties. This demonstrated that the headquarters of the national and district Communications and Warning Services and the civil defense formations under them are capable of coping with even more complex situations.

[Question] What are your recommendations and wishes for personnel of the communications system in connection with civil defense warning matters?

[Answer] I believe that building of a continuously operating and stable communications and warning system is a duty of primary importance for the basic supervisory and service personnel of the communications system. This duty is assigned by the requirements of the 12th Bulgarian Communist Party Congress and the National Party Congress and has been incorporated in our regulatory documents. It must be emphasized that the latest technical developments will continue to provide the basis for construction and improvement of the civil defense communications and warning system. This is also a requirement set by the February plenary meeting of the party central committee.

I should like to express my sincere wishes for health, success, and personal happiness to the personnel responsible for keeping this important system at a high level of readiness.

6115

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PEACE REPRESENTATIVES MEETING IN TACHOV REPORTED

AU281346 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Oct 85 p 1

["VPL"-signed report: "For International Cooperation in the Struggle for Peace; Representatives of Peace Forces from the FRG, Austria and the CSSR Meet in Tachov"]

[Text] Tachov (RUDE PRAVO correspondent)--A meeting of representatives of peace forces of the GDR, the FRG, Austria, and the CSSR was held on Saturday and Sunday in Tachov under the slogan "For International Cooperation in the Struggle for Peace." Almost 100 foreign delegates attended the peace forum, whose main purpose was to broaden and enrich the dialogue of organizations united by the endeavor to strengthen peace and search for ways to detente and gradual disarmament.

Academician Bedrich Svestka, chairman of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, welcomed the representatives of the GDR Peace Council, the German Peace Union (DFU), and the German Peace Society/Opponents of Military Service (DFG-VK) from the FRG, the Austrian Peace Council, and the Czechoslovak Peace Council. He emphasized that similar meetings constitute an effective contribution to the common endeavor for a life of peace and for our own and future generations.

Saturday morning, an exchange of views on different themes concentrated on the establishment of nuclear-free zones and a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe, and on the peace movement's viewpoints on President Reagan's plans to militarize outer space. The participants in the discussion from all four countries agreed that the peace movement, as a factor of social development, must continue to intensify its efforts to maintain peace.

In the afternoon, the Tachov town square was filled with the participants in the peace forum and with more than 10,000 working people of the Tachov district, attending a gala rally organized by the Czechoslovak Peace Committee in cooperation with the CPCZ's district committees and the CSSR national front. A solemn speech was delivered by Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the national front central committee and deputy chairman of the World Peace Council. In the opening part, he noted that our people had in the past ample opportunity to find out what war, oppression, and lawlessness mean. Therefore, they will always be in solidarity with those in the world who even

today are forced to struggle for freedom and social progress, and who are bringing the greatest sacrifices to this struggle. Comrade Travnicek noted further the latest Soviet peace initiatives, submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during his recent visit to France. The demands of all people of goodwill for life without the specter of war were supported by speakers from the GDR, Austria, and the FRG.

At the end, the participants in the rally adopted a delegation which says among other things: "We, participants in the peace rally in the West Bohemian town of Tachov are making use of the approaching International Year of Peace, proclaimed by the United Nations, to call on all people to oppose the danger of nuclear war and demand steps leading to genuine disarmament. We condemn the militarization of outer space that is being carried out by the United States under the deceptive mantle of 'defensive initiative'. Any effort to achieve military superiority leads to unleashing new rounds of feverish arms buildup and brings mankind another step closer to a nuclear catastrophe."

On Saturday, the participants in the rally laid a wreath at the memorial of the victims of fascism in Tachov, where 229 victims of the Buchenwald concentration camp are buried, and Sunday morning paid a visit to the Tachov State Farm, the holder of the Czechoslovak Peace Prize.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SOFIA DECLARATION INTERPRETED

AU311701 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Oct 85 p 6

[Article by Ivan Hlivka: "Socialism More and More Palpably Influences the Fate of Mankind; Thoughts on the Sofia Declaration"]

[Text] The foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community and of the Soviet Union, in particular, more and more profoundly captivates the imagination of contemporaries. This is by dint of its originality, scope, and purposefulness. Great appreciation is being expressed for its combination of a sober scientific prognosis with its orientation toward the future, a future such as the world's progressive and democratic forces strive for. Indeed, who--except, of course, reactionary imperialist forces--would not take note of, and be enthusiastic about--the way in which the socialist countries combine noble ideals with practical policy, the way in which they harmonize means and lofty goals.

Today, it is no longer possible to deny the fact that socialism exerts an increasingly palpable influence on the fate of mankind and has the crucial say in determining the prospects of civilization.

This was also documented by the session of the Warsaw Pact member-states' Political Consultative Committee held in Sofia last week. Its course and final document confirmed that the fraternal socialist countries are expending their entire creative potential for the benefit of the implementation of the ideals of peace and social progress all over the world.

The Main Thrust of Our Efforts

The session of the highest representatives of fraternal parties and countries dealt with a very wide range of issues. This could not have been otherwise if we realize that today socialism can, and must, be involved in all problems concerning the main directions of the development of mankind, problems whose number in today's complex and dynamic world is steadily increasing. The main attention, however, was paid to the most acute problem that disconcerts mankind--to the problem of preventing the world from sliding into the abyss of a nuclear catastrophe, into which the imperialist forces of the United States and their most reactionary allies would like to plunge it.

The final document adopted by the participants in the session is comprehensive and comprehensible. That which on the surface appears to be simple sentences conceals the colorful image and tension of the tenacious struggle waged by our community for the practical implementation of the ideals of peace and cooperation among peoples, and for bringing to a halt the imperialist's "infernal machine" of confrontation and arms race.

The document reaffirmed the loyalty of the fraternal parties and countries to revolutionary principles, to proletarian and socialist internationalism, and the linkage of these principles with the revolutionary determination and ability to realistically assess current world developments and to draw on this basis farreaching practical conclusions.

The document furnishes further confirmation of the fact that the historic credit for the fact that for 40 years now mankind has been able to live and create under the conditions of peace (although the peace has been an unstable one, tested by continuous sallies, threats, and provocations by imperialism) goes to the Soviet Union and its most loyal allies who are exerting immense efforts in the interest of the preservation of peace, erecting an increasingly firm dam against the dangerous plans of the nuclear maniacs.

The energetic and consistent actions of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, which stir the conscience of mankind, have placed the problems of disarmament at a prominent place of international affairs. It is the fraternal socialist countries that deserve the main credit for the fact that the world public is able to become acquainted with the true state of affairs in the world and with the methods of dealing with the acute problems of the present and that mankind is gradually and more and more resolutely becoming involved in matters that until recently were only the subject of secret diplomatic negotiations.

#### Imperialist Threat to the World

The representatives of the fraternal parties and countries that were present at the Sofia session dealt responsibly and with all due earnestness with the current state of international relations. They agreed that mankind is at a turning point of world developments, in which the question is being decided whether the arms race will be halted and the threat of war lessened, whether the international political atmosphere will improve, or whether those forces in the world will prevail which aggravate tension more and more, step up the arms race, and are pushing mankind into a nuclear catastrophe.

The final document of the session frankly states that "international tension has substantially increased in the last few years" and that "the world has come close to a limit, beyond which events could get out of control."

This is an important and simultaneously alarming conclusion. It shows to which ends imperialism would like to lead mankind. Facing the truth is much more useful than relying on illusions, on the hope that "everything will end well anyhow."

On the other hand, the session confirmed that the peace-loving potential of mankind is steadily increasing, that peace-loving peoples and movements are capable of thwarting the aggressive plans and intrigues of militarist forces and military-industrial complexes and of forcing upon them peace where they seek to unleash war. [It confirmed that--FBIS] they are capable of forcing them to give up the unrealizable dream of obtaining supremacy over socialism in the military sphere and taking revenge on all progressive and revolutionary peoples for their setbacks.

The large-scale arms build-up unleashed by imperialism is the greatest crime against peoples. The present scale of the arms buildup is such that it alone escalates international tension. It helps to expand the arms race into new areas and involves ever new states in its carousel. It generates suspicion, distrust, nervousness, and the danger that the impediments to the use of these weapons might fail.

#### The Way Out of the Dangerous Situation

That is why the struggle against this danger that is being tirelessly waged by the socialist states and the USSR, in particular, now enters a new, higher stage. This struggle is being waged in an exceedingly complicated situation, in which especially the North American ruling elite sabotages any progress in the direction of an improvement of the situation.

Mankind, however, with growing ratification appreciates the fact that even under these extraordinarily difficult conditions when the material preparation of war continues at an accelerated pace, the Soviet Union is coming up with an extensive program of constructive deeds that could, given a reasonable approach to them by the U.S. administration and some NATO governments, represent a good foundation for the solution of problems. These are, above all, the problems of averting the threat of the militarization of space and terminating the arms race on earth, the proposed agreement on a complete ban on offensive space weapons, and a radical, 50-percent reduction in the number of nuclear weapons capable of hitting the other side's territory.

The dangerousness of the present situation requires the search for new ways leading to the termination of feverish armament. And the USSR is, indeed, taking such steps and proposing such ways. The Soviet Union has unilaterally pledged not to be the first to deploy weapons in space; it has unilaterally introduced a moratorium on tests of nuclear weapons in Europe; and it has reduced the number of its missiles. The world is able to convince itself of the sincerity of the Soviet policy of peace. Together with other socialist countries, it has raised at the Stockholm conference questions of trust such as nonuse of force, formation of nuclear-free zones, removal of chemical weapons from Europe, and formation of zones free from these weapons.

The comprehensive program of the socialist countries makes it possible to achieve a breakthrough in international relations and to return them to the right track. At the same time it maximally exposes the glaring contrast between the positions of the USSR and the United States and between the world of socialism and the world of imperialism.

## Everyone Must Bear Responsibility

Man's most natural desire is to live. However, today it is extraordinarily important for everyone to realize that, in the interest of this desire, he must also act as resolutely as possible and that, in order to live, it is vitally important to come to understand the extent and the degree of the threat of war posed by world imperialism.

The situation that has arisen in the world is extraordinarily dangerous; yet mankind has no just reasons to give up hopes for its better future. Mankind is in possession of experience and a mature scientific mode of thinking and has thus realistic prerequisites for resolving even the most intricate problems that only yesterday seemed to be insurmountable. There is everything on our planet that is necessary for a happy and spiritually rich human life. North American imperialism, however, continues to cultivate archaic and antihuman forms of international and interstate relations, and its politicians and ideologists continue to think in terms of the categories of war and feverish armament. In the United Nations last week, for example, the U.S. President cynically elevated the armed aggression against Grenada, the Camp David Accords, and the support for the most reactionary regimes in the world to the status of "peace" actions and justified the program of "star wars" and the policy of state terrorism which the United States practices more and more frequently. This furnishes evidence of the way in which Washington approaches the most important foreign political problems.

The militant imperialist policy is running up against the resistance of increasingly numerous social strata in Western countries. The cause of this is objective: The militant policy of the top imperialist office holders in the United States and their allies is predetermined by factors that cannot even conform to the wishes of the majority of the population in the West. These factors include the endeavor to maintain and, in the long run, set up counterrevolution all over the world; the endeavor to maintain the system of extorting excess profits all over the world and in the developing world in particular; and the endeavor to transfer the unpropitious consequences of the crisis of capitalism to the shoulders of the working people and democratic forces. The exponents of the most reactionary imperialist circles are today at the helm of state power in the United States and [in the countries of-- FBIS] some of its allies.

## A Repulsive Manifestation of the Crisis of Imperialism

Everyone following international affairs, no matter how cursorily, will arrive at the conclusion that imperialism and its ideology and policy are in a deep crisis. The pronouncements of U.S. representatives at international forums are sometimes so absurd that even among the U.S. allies they give rise to doubts as to whether there still exist any "norms of conduct" which the United States would respect. People frequently ask the question whether imperialist policy is still capable of contributing something positive to the solution of cardinal world problems. The statements of American foreign policy strategists are deficient in sound logic and dominated by hysteria and



unfairness [nekorektnost] in their references to U.S. relations with other countries. The present architects of U.S. foreign policy ignore the fact that there have been many adventurers and demagogues in human history who were not guided by realistic considerations in drafting their foreign policy line but by personal whims and illusions. As is known, their end was always inglorious. It is natural that even today neither demagoguery nor a mad arms build-up will help the U.S. administration to refashion the world according to its licentious will. The sharp reactionary turn; the constant attempts at isolating socialism by encircling it with a ring of hostile states, nuclear bases, threats, and slanders; the organizing of "crusades"--does not all this suggest the erosion of the positions of U.S. imperialism?

#### Return to Detente Is Possible

All the more emphatically do the representatives of the socialist world appeal to the North American statesmen to adopt a new way of thinking, one that is rid of the preposterous doctrine of a first nuclear strike, of threatening mankind from space, and of unjustified claims to world rule.

Mass communications media in the world are carrying these days a large number of positive reactions by progressive and democratic officials from all corners of the world to the suggestions of the highest representatives of the socialist countries adopted in Sofia. Great appreciation is being voiced for their conviction that a return to detente and its expansion to cover all areas of interstate relations, a return to reliable security and cooperation, is now possible. This aim is to be served by the broad range of proposals adopted at the session in Sofia and by the decision of the Soviet leadership that at the forthcoming talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan the Soviet representative will do everything possible for a turn for the better in the world situation. A great response has been elicited by Comrade Gorbachev's declaration in Sofia that "no one has the right today to eschew the solution of the main question: in which direction will the world situation develop, whether in the direction of the escalation of the arms race and its expansion into space, or in the direction of a radical limitation of military arsenals and an improvement in the entire international atmosphere?" On behalf of the CPSU and all Soviet people he resolutely declared that "no one will ever force us to become reconciled to the lunacy of the arms race and to the idea that war is unavoidable."

This is a clearly formulated decision, which will not allow the American President to sidestep the main issues during the talks.

#### Peace Can Be Saved

The declaration of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member-countries clearly demonstrates before the whole world that the socialist countries realize their responsibility vis-a-vis their own peoples and the whole of mankind, that they are striving with all their might to ensure for them the bright prospects of life and prosperity. And, which is particularly important, they give a clear answer to the question of what must be done for this to happen. Their plans are acceptable for mankind and at the same time

trustworthy. These qualities of their plans are also confirmed by the draft of a new edition of the CPSU program. It proceeds from the notion that, no matter how big the threat to peace, a world war is not fatally inevitable; from the notion that war can be prevented and mankind spared a catastrophe. Therein lies the historic mission of socialism and all progressive and peace-loving forces.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community intend to continue without hesitation to undertake resolute steps to exert an influence on the development of the world situation and to strengthen peace. Their policy will continue to combine in a close way loyalty to the tasks arising from their class interests with political realism and flexibility. However, at the same time it will in a tough and resolute manner resist all manifestations of the imperialist policy of aggression anywhere in the world.

Never before did such a terrible danger hover over our planet. We believe, however, that the possibilities to curb the militant forces are quite realistic. It is possible to build a world free of wars and weapons; for this to happen it is necessary, however, that peace-loving peoples and movements be united and active and that they coordinate their struggle for these goals up to the victorious end. The historic conflict between capitalism and socialism, between reaction and progress, should not be solved by way of a military confrontation.

There is really no sound alternative to peaceful coexistence today. The material and moral standards of the fraternal socialist countries headed by the USSR are such that, with the help of other peace-loving forces, they are in a position to safeguard peace and give mankind a chance for its new development. Such is the mission with which they were charged by history.

Mankind is entitled to the guarantee that it not only lives now, but will exist forever. This guarantee is granted to it by socialism.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ROLE, CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES DISCUSSED

AU291115 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Oct 85 p 4

[Interview given by Viliam Plevza, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Slovak Communist Party gkCPSL Central Committee, to Jaroslav Mazal: "On the Topical Issues of Research in Social Sciences Prior to the 17th CPCZ Congress; We Need Creative Approaches and Effective Innovative Solutions"; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] The 16th CPCZ Congress again stressed the significance of a constant creative mastering of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and of their practical implementation under the specific historical conditions of our country. [transmission garble] sciences with Academician Viliam Plevza, director of the CPSL Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

[Mazal] One of the tasks of the sphere of social sciences is to clarify the main socioeconomic goals of the further development of our socialist society--their contents, and the sequence of priorities there.

[Plevza] Both our own, and the international experience in the realization of socialist social changes yields sufficient proof that the success of their practical enforcement directly depends not only on the correct grasp of the goals set by the party, but also on whether they have been set in time. Even today, when the rate of socioeconomic, scientific and technical, demographic, political, and other social processes in the world is accelerating--and when, moreover, the processes are becoming increasingly complicated--our party rejects on principle the subjectivist visionariness which attempts to cover up the insufficiency of its comprehensive concept for the solution of ripe social problems.

This is connected with another pivotal feature of our party's effort: the endeavor to avoid the danger of an inadmissible second extreme--pragmatism, that is, a way of thinking that is limited by short-term goals which seem outwardly effective and that is shortsightedly oriented toward achieving, at any price, immediate palpable and visible successes in comparison with the preceding year or half-year, to the detriment of a responsible comprehensive conceptual approach.

[Mazal] How can one ward off the danger of this pragmatism? What is the prerequisite for overcoming it?

[Plevza] We must know the scope of the goals we are setting for ourselves in terms of time and contents. In other words, in an effort to further improve the economic mechanism and to ensure the world parameters of social labor productivity, we must utilize and further develop the humanist potential of socialism and at the same time grasp and realize the principle of social justice which, according to Mikhail Gorbachev, is "the most important factor of the unity and stability of the socialist society."

As the first phase of communist formation, socialism must not sacrifice--in any phase of its development--its humanist mission in the name of achieving immediate economic effects or an adequate level of consumption; nor must it ignore basic socialist ethical principles. This means that it must energetically reject all attempts to tolerate hidden and apparent attacks on its main principles under the pretext of a false, sentimental, abstract humanism.

[Mazal] Can we be satisfied with the results of research in social sciences?

[Plevza] I think that we cannot. We notice here a slowing down. One points out the factor of time here, which is generally the most significant item in the costs of the current rapid development of science and technology in the world. It is no coincidence that one is talking and writing, even publicly, about the unfavorable influence of the absence of a specific expression of the value share of basic research from the development of research and development, and on its economic contribution in the relationship between science and practice, but also between the economic sphere and the research-and-development base.

It is no secret that a comprehensive and serious scientific knowledge of the present state of our society and of the prospects of its development demands that we introduce into the process of acquiring scientific knowledge all the decisive elements which are at the society's disposal. However, this demand can simply not be realized at present. The individual element of the scientific-research base are fulfilling the tasks which have been approved years ago. For instance, the adoption of commitments following from the project "the present state and prospects of the further development of our society" which we have begun to realize depends essentially on the good will of those who are responsible for the realization of these commitments. We still have far to go to really understand that it is essential that scientific priorities determine the orientation, and the material, but also the cadre and equipment of scientific research institutions.

There must be a mutual cooperation among scientific institutions.

We also must have cooperation with them; we must have a collaboration from which all undesirable disputes are eliminated from the viewpoint of all social interest--all altercations prestige regarding and squabbling about who is more important, all friction provoked by one-sided viewpoints which are as a rule,

frozen in one-sided views of scientific disciplines, ministries, or ministerial branches, or others.

The broad scope of tasks in sciences and research and the dispersion of science and research facilities, which we are justly criticizing and which we regard as the greatest obstacle to the desirable concentration of the scientific and research base on decisive priorities, is not, however, an affair concerning science alone. For instance, in the technical sciences we have been criticizing for years the broad range of products, for instance in engineering. It must be clear at first glance, that the solution to this problem does not depend on science, and also that, even with the best will, the situation cannot be resolved overnight.

The path toward solving the complicated problems of the further development of science and of its practical use is inextricably linked with the overall development of our entire organism, and above all of the economic complex. What should we remember? Above all the concentration of the science and research potential on the most socially important priorities--that means also on those which will speed up the rate of development both in economy and in other structures of the social organism. This would emphatically benefit a more efficient insurance of our share in the development of international collaboration within the framework of our socialist community.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BENO ADVOCATES CENTRALIZED ECONOMY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Mikulas Beno, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ:  
"Annual Meetings--The Beginning of the Party's Preparations for the 17th Congress"]

[Excerpts] The annual membership meetings of basic organizations occupy an important and irreplaceable place in the life of our party. That is why the Central Committee is devoting extraordinary attention to them from the very beginnings of the preparations for the 17th party congress. They are the highest organs of party organization--the basic link in the organizational makeup of the party. At these meetings communists at their workplaces and locations discuss all basic questions of their lives and the entire party organization, evaluate the work which has been done since the last annual meetings and the 16th party congress and simultaneously set goals for themselves for the next period. They will elect delegates to okres conferences who, on the basis of the results and conclusions of the annual meetings, will assess the work of the party within the framework of the entire okres organization and will adopt resolutions covering their activities during the ensuing period. The importance of the actions by communists at the annual meetings of their organizations and at the subsequent party conferences is not exhausted by the election of delegates to the congress. The entire party will participate in the preparations for the congress, its program conclusions and will consistently work them out and assure their implementation in all sectors in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

The 15 June session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ adopted the principal directions of the intentions to prepare for the congress and the negotiations by communists at all levels of the party which precede it. It approved the report presented by the general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, Comrade Gustav Husak, as a directive for work involving party organs,

organizations and communists in all sectors during the pre-congress period, for preparation of the annual membership meetings, party conferences, the Congress of the Slovak Communist Party and the 17th Congress of the CPCZ. This constitutes the basis for fulfilling the conclusions of the Central Committee--that preparations for the congress should become a matter for all communists--of the entire party and of society. That is why the Central Committee of the CPCZ also obligated communists--officials of state economic organs and social organizations--to consistently implement conclusions of the 15th Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ in actual life during the creation of the economic and social program of the party covering the 8th Five-Year Plan and in working out the perspectives of development of our socialist society for the subsequent time period. The objective is to engage the working people in the broadest possible sense, in preparing and fulfilling the plan.

The political-organizational support for the congress places great emphasis on the unity of the substantive and organizational side of its preparations. This requirement is particularly important with respect to such an important political event as the annual meetings of basic organizations. Party organs quite correctly stress the high quality of substantive preparations. They do not apply this fundamental question everywhere with the necessary consistency. We cannot underestimate the organizational side but, by the same token, we cannot overemphasize the development of a broad mass political, organizational and ideological activity by overly stressing substantive goals. The annual membership meetings must collectively and critically assess the results of past work and to set clear and specific goals for communists for the ensuing period. This must be reflected in the organization of their preparations and in the progress of the meetings.

Since the congress has been called and since the substantive, cadre and organizational intentions of its preparation were approved, not quite 5 months have passed--a period of highly intensive party work, and growing work and social activities. The efforts of workers, technicians, cooperative farmers, all citizens, to consistently fulfill the planned targets of the final year of the 7th Five-Year Plan, as well as good preparations for the next time period, have undoubtedly resulted in positive contributions. This is attested to by the continuation of positive developments with respect to fulfilling of tasks in industry, agriculture, construction, external economic relations, as well as in satisfying the requirements of citizens. The Central Committee has evaluated the new initiative movement, the pioneer-type work that has been going on in many sectors which reflects the correct understanding and specific response of a number of working collectives to the conclusions stemming from the 15th session.

The Central Committee of the CPCZ leads territorial organs and organizations--communists in all sectors--toward fortifying and universally developing everything that is positive but also toward a more resolute solution of problems in sectors which are falling behind. It stresses primarily decisive measures, directions and ways which have a bearing on accelerated development of the economy, of profitability and of intensification of the entire reproduction process, on the quality of every piece of work performed. This is also the direction of efforts to elevate all sides of party activity to the level of current tasks.

At the beginning of September the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ carried out an overall evaluation of the manner in which the conclusions of the June session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ were being assured, particularly in the socioeconomic area. In this connection it dealt with the status of preparations for the annual membership meetings and party conferences, it looked at the way in which the content of these significant actions by communists reflect the realization of strategic interests of development of society as set by the party. Naturally, the main attention was directed at areas where we are behind in the work, where the set goals are threatened or where all possibilities, means and resources for accelerating progress and improving results are not adequately utilized.

The subsequent conference between the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and leading secretaries of kraj party committees, as well as the following party-economic activists at kraj and okres levels and negotiations by committees of basic organizations have confirmed that it was very topical and necessary to make a deeper evaluation of the situation prior to the annual membership meetings at all levels, to guide further progress and, on the basis of a critical and truthful evaluation, assess the manner in which "this course, the results of our actions, can be uniformly transposed into practice, into everyday life, and whose realization can become the object of principal emphasis," as had been stressed at the conclusion of the June session of the Central Committee by Comrade Gustav Husak.

Varying results in fulfilling the line stipulated by the 16th congress, the falling behind of a number of enterprises, plants and work sites and the not always decisive approach toward pacifying tasks during the pregress period tend to lower the overall positive results, to weaken the solution of principal goals and to weaken the good preparations for the 8th Five-Year Plan. That is why the Central Committee adopted directives calling for the entire party--all sectors and levels--to undertake a very honest and substantive analysis of the manner in which the conclusions of the 15th Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ are being fulfilled and effective steps were taken to remove shortcomings and to ensure the more consistent support of the goals set. The 15th Session of the Central Committee is a response to all basic questions, openly points out weak spots and shortcomings, be it through criticism of inconsistency in fulfilling this year's plan, in preparations for the next, the 8th Five-Year Plan, as well as by identifying starting points and by seeking new approaches.

It was once more emphasized that the desirable turnaround in intensification of the economy is based on appropriate changes in the thinking and approaches toward work in all sectors and in all regions of party and societal activities. The process of socialist reproduction is internally connected with uncompromising laws and structures, primarily the relationship between production and consumption, creation and utilization, the dependence of produced production upon the level of utilization involving raw materials, materials and the quality of the work performed. The fundamental conclusion underlying the adopted measures in connection with evaluating the fulfillment of tasks along all lines calls for the consistent application of the conclusions of the June session of the Central Committee and makes sure that they are



comprehensively explained down to the basic organization level, to each and every communist. That is why the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPCZ turned to all members and candidate members of the party with a reminder for an urgent task--to become deeply familiar and to comprehend the political lines involved in the preparations for the congress, to become an actual fighter for the policies of the party through personal example and even by implementing the policies at the workplace. That is why this topical task is connected with the requirement for active participation on the part of every communist in the preparations, the course and the results of the annual meetings within his organization and during the consistent application of the adopted conclusions in everyday life at his workplace.

The party congress and its preparations are always a significant sociopolitical event. It places great demands upon individual communists, party organs and their political workers, upon the broad active officials. Every period results in new requirements. Preparations for the 17th party congress require the attainment of a specific turnaround in all basic regions, particularly in intensification of production and in the entire reproduction process, in the further perfection of the economic mechanism, in the system of management and with respect to the consistent application of the leading role of the party. Scientific management, even at the basic unit level, begins with setting of goals and ends by the attainment of specific results. Both ends are connected with a multilateral realization process which is most difficult, complex, but decisive with respect to the level of results. It stresses both the unity of action with respect to economic management and party leadership, the given goals, directions and ways of development, as well as the full development of its own specific forms, methods and instruments of activity. The motive force of the political organization in a socialist society is based precisely on this division of functions in which the party leadership, as the highest form of leadership in the country at the most common level does not take over or replace direct management, but creates conditions for it, perfects it, verifies it and controls it. Every basic organization has its own specific problems. Many, however, have a common task--how to apply the stated goals and directions which accelerate the development in everyday life under their specific conditions, how to perfect the forms, methods and style of their work so as to measure up to the difficulty of the current tasks.

To successfully measure up to all these tasks means to more resolutely overcome outdated stereotypes in thinking and in practical activity, to consistently and creatively approach the solution of problems. Let us be reminded of one of the important components of the Leninist style of work--the readiness to take on responsibility for difficult tasks as a specific expression of the unity of word and deed, of the correct application of cadre policy, the firm connection with the masses, of critical evaluation of that which has been achieved, and of irreconcilability with everything that is alien to party ideology and socialism.

A substantive and objective analysis of the specific situation within the sphere of activity of every party organization presents broad opportunities to confront the intentions and adopted measures with actual results of work, is a reliable basis for evaluating and publicizing good experiences, but even for a

critical rejection of that which stands in the way. That is why the annual party meetings in their own specific conditions also evaluate the application of the Letter of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ on Deepening the Effectivity of the Struggle Against Violations of the Principles of Socialist Legality, Morale and Discipline. It is characteristic in applying the terms of the Letter that an ever more favorable atmosphere is created for the struggle with disorder, with violations of discipline and order. Party organizations are devoting unified support to this effort which is positively reflected in the overall life of society in realizing the party line. Despite the effort expended, however, in many instances the recognition of the importance of the fight against shortcomings and abuse is more likely to not go beyond the words. Adopted measures do not always have the adequate resolve and there is frequently also the lack of courage to solve negative phenomena and to take steps against their perpetrators. More party emphasis and principledness is necessary, not only in solving specific negative phenomena, but particularly with respect to effective prevention so that there would be no room or space available for violating principles of socialism in practice and so that the requirements listed in the Letter would more specifically be reflected in cadre work, effective control activities, purposeful political-organizational and ideological educational work. These findings of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing and Control Commission are an important signal for annual meetings and party conferences to deal with these questions very substantively and very responsibly in the interest of the further acceleration of economic and social progress, in the same way in which the Central Committee of the party dealt with these matters at its June session.

The annual meetings and party conferences present a broad possibility for publicizing all that is positive in the development of the internal life of party organizations, in applying the party statutes and in openly pointing out weaknesses, causes for shortcomings and backwardness, and for seeking ways to solve these problems. Not even one communist should leave the annual meeting without feeling specifically responsible for the adopted measures; he should not remain anonymous in the face of general criticism and should be familiar with the tasks set. It cannot be permitted for annual meetings to be conducted on a formal basis in a pretentious manner with so-called touched-up views of work and of the goals. Let us say right away that an annual meeting "prepared" in this way, or more precisely said, an unprepared annual meeting, should not be held. It is the responsibility primarily of okres committees to see to it that annual meetings everywhere are conducted with their effective help in the spirit of the intentions which have been established.

A positive factor is that in preparing the annual meeting the majority of organizations, their committees and party groups informally dealt with the activities of communists. However, it was not always possible to aim their evaluations at the fulfillment of specific tasks of fundamental significance to which party statutes obligate communists--primarily to be a consistent fighter for application of party policy and to act, through personal example, in the environment where communists work and live.

Experiences gathered at these meetings once more confirm how important it is to devote permanent attention to far deeper familiarity and application of

criticism and self-criticism with respect to the activities of the party organization, its committee and of every communist. The application of this powerful instrument in avoiding mistakes and shortcomings, an instrument which accelerates the solution of important tasks, cannot be overestimated. This important element of the Leninist style of work demands political ripeness, ideological maturity and moral fortitude of communists, it demands a universal development of internal party organizational life along the principles of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy, a high level of organization and management of activities, the full application of the rights to exercise control. Criticism at the meetings cannot be just a matter of improving "impressions" pertaining to the annual actions of communists, but must be an expression of honest efforts to recognize the truth, to constructively and responsibly approach all important questions and difficulties, to uncover shortcomings and their causes, and to point out the most effective ways of solving them.

The role of the higher party organs, particularly of okres committees, is a very responsible one. It consists of their irreplaceable mission to use effective management of the entire preparations and conduct of the annual meetings to assist these meetings in fulfilling the fundamental substantive and cadre goals which have been established. A thorough knowledge of conditions and situations in each basic organization is that decisive element upon which the management of this important phase of preparations for the party congress must be based. It is only in such a way that the committees can render effective aid to the party organizations and contribute toward a good conduct of the meetings. Where these meetings are to be followed by all-enterprise or local conferences their preparations should be connected with the solution of conclusions which have emanated from the annual membership meetings of basic organizations, they should be responsive to possible reminders and should also express ideas about how the conclusions from these conferences should be reflected in the activities of party organizations.

We consider it to be no less important to already deal today with questions of how effectively the practical application of the resolutions is to be organized after the annual meetings and party conferences, to see how the management of party organizations can be improved and to intensify the education of elected officials. Okres committees must be able to guarantee that every justified reminder, idea and recommendation expressed at meetings and conferences will not sink into oblivion but will be responsibly assessed and solved. It is necessary to add that the required approach by individuals, the apparatus and the activ with respect to the work of basic organizations makes it possible to set higher goals, to deepen intraparty democracy and to increase action capability and responsibility for solving the demanding tasks of the next time period.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MANAGERS COMMITTED TO UPGRADE ECONOMY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Sep 85 p 1

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] Improving the national economy does not mean increasing the size of the manpower or making a greater effort to achieve planned goals. A prerequisite or, to put it better, an absolute condition for success is the use of the results of scientific-technical development which would permit the production process to grow by introducing new technologies, improving automation of the production process, maximizing the use of robots and manipulators and permitting scientific-technical knowledge to decrease the material and energy of production, greatly increasing the understanding of the working people to economize, to strengthen planning, production, and financial discipline, etc.

All this is confirmed by the complexity of the whole motivation underlying people's approaches to the realization of our growth goals. Such a broad structural change can be carried only with a deep internal conviction of those who are in charge of management, planning, and implementation. The need for change from extensive to intensive development is based on a number of important party documents. Thus, it is an important party task. Nobody disputes its appropriateness. Its justification and necessity, in view of the needs to improve the effectiveness of our entire economy in the interest of the ever-growing needs of society, is more than obvious.

What, then, is the key? The key is in the attitude toward the fulfillment of this task by each individual manager and economic worker, the extent of his personal responsibility vis-a-vis the party and society, his will and courage to wage a tough struggle against inertia, routine, and the deeply rooted habits of extensive thinking. Why not admit that the extensive way of development is easier and simpler? At the same time, however, it is also very expensive and demanding as far as the consumption of resources is concerned. Such an attitude was appropriate to the situation during our initial 5-year plans when it was necessary to build new plants and when the socialization of our agriculture released a large number of workers who were gradually retrained for the industrial sector. In those years, production was increased arithmetically by installing new machinery and equipment and by assigning additional workers to the industrial production process.

In today's changed conditions this cannot be repeated. According to our statistics, there is an abundance of equipment in use. This is demonstrated by the fact that several hundred thousand machine-operator slots are vacant. The previous high annual increment of new workers has dropped to a minimum and the new workers today are needed primarily in the tertiary sector without whose progress we would not be able to strengthen and improve our standard of living.

In such a situation the solution to the problem is a gradual modernization of our industrial base, the introduction of new technology which would ensure increased production while saving manpower, and the introduction of new technological processes which would drastically increase the technical-economic parameters and improve the quality of our products. We must accelerate the innovation processes and use the most recent scientific-technical knowledge in such a way as to make the trademark "Made in Czechoslovakia" commensurate with advanced European standards and to enable these products to compete in foreign markets.

All this places high demands on our mental efforts. Stated figuratively, nobody wants to see the intensification process mean more calluses on one's hands. This process must be characterized by a vast development in mental skills, the full use of high qualifications and the possession of vast knowledge. It is a process which obviously will not encompass all of us. It is beyond the strength and abilities of some people. However, our economy obviously has available enough people who are educated, able and courageous, who are loyal to the party and society, who will not hesitate to undertake these grandiose tasks, and who will not be afraid of conflicts and corresponding risks.

One can mandate the process of intensification. However, experience so far has shown that this is not enough. Its outcome fully depends on the initiative of the people, especially managers and economic workers. Those of them who are content with the existing situation basically oppose intensification and slow it down. The reason that under their management the products manufactured can be sold is no excuse for their work. One has to face the truth: these products are being sold because there are no better alternatives on the markets. And, as far as foreign markets are concerned, the continuation of such production results in our declining effectiveness in foreign trade.

Our national economy has at its disposal sufficient material and financial means. However, many managers believe that additional means should be made available to them for the intensification process. The question then is what did they do and what are they doing with those means allotted to them each year. Even here the answer is easy: they use them to conserve the old, outdated and unsuitable method of extensive development. In other words, they are wasting resources in their charge; they are using them on things which are not in the interest--and it is necessary to emphasize in the very basic interest--of society.

Managers and economic workers must be in the forefront of the efforts to intensify our national economy, to modernize the production process, to strive for and introduce the new technologies and techniques, to quickly and broadly apply scientific-technical knowledge in practice, to improve technical-economic parameters, the quality and effectiveness of products, and to effectively create the resources needed by our society for its further development.

Such an exercise of the function of managers and economic workers is expected by the party and the working people. Our workers can have confidence only in those managers who are solving the needs of the national economy in a principled way. However, one cannot trust those who are trying to ease their tasks to the detriment of society, who violate party and civic discipline, and who want to jump on the bandwagon without making any contribution while others do the work.

1277/12947  
CSO: 2400/2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY'S FIRM STAND AGAINST VIOLATIONS, ABUSES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] Prague (z). The 20th meeting of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ, presided by its chairman, Jaroslav Hajn, was held in Prague on Thursday.

The commission discussed a report on the results of a check on the practical implementation of the Letter of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee concerning the effectiveness of the struggle against violations of the principles of socialist legality, morality, and discipline.

The report shows that the concern to ignore violations of discipline, morality, and legality and to gain unjustified advantages at the expense of our society increasingly penetrates the conscience of most communists and other working people. We can also witness a gradual intensification of the struggle of the state, economic and social organs and organizations against anti-social activities.

At the same time, the report shows that the Letter of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee is not yet fully understood as a decisive call for strengthening discipline and order. Responsible leading workers in individual sectors do not always confront the initial appearances of negative phenomena decisively and effectively. They do not always report the cases of violations of legality. They have a tendency to solve the problems of criminal activity by using their own criteria which may be contrary to existing legal norms. Certain economic workers do not consider control as part of their work; they do not systematically check on the fulfillment of adopted measures and fail to draw appropriate conclusions even from the findings of the intra-enterprise controlling bodies.

In the interest of a consistent implementation of the Letter of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee it is necessary, as confirmed by verification made, that the party organs and organizations uncompromisingly insist on the observance of the all-societal interests, discipline and order. They must insist that all leading workers be demanding in view of their responsibility for the fulfillment of the party's socio-economic program. They must demand that the communists be in the forefront of this fight and struggle in a principled way against all negative phenomena and survivals of petit-bourgeois thinking and morality.

The commission also discussed the reports on the follow-up checks made in party membership registration and party administration and in the audit of certain facilities of the party enterprise service of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The commission discussed the level and effectiveness of the work of the Tabor Okres Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ.

The commission also took note of the information concerning the visit of a delegation of the Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ to Hungary and a visit of a delegation of the Control Commission of the Ethiopian Workers Party in Czechoslovakia.

1277/12947

CSO: 2400/14



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEED FOR ENTERPRISES TO IMPROVE OUTPUT QUALITY STRESSED

LD050947 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Nov 85

[Station commentary by Jozef Dunajovec]

[Excerpt] During the time that the categories of economically backward, average, and well-performing agricultural enterprises have been accurately and strictly monitored, we discovered an interesting fact. Their ratio and numbers remained the same and the alternations depended on criteria for their evaluation. For instance, after the end of the 6th 5-Year Plan, according to the State Bank, there were 227 united agricultural cooperatives and 44 state farms in Slovakia, which were permanently below average. This represented approximately one-third of all enterprises. Although many backward enterprises managed during the 7th 5-Year Plan to reach the level of average enterprises in growth of plant production and in some cases in animal husbandry, we now find out that the number of enterprises lagging behind is approximately the same as it was in the past. In comparison with the well-performing enterprises they are behind in harvests by 100 tons of grain, 60,000 tons of beet, 40,000 tons of potatoes, 5,700 tons of meat, and 4,000 tons of milk. The reasons for their lagging behind are most frequently found in the quality of raw materials produced by these enterprises. The quality of fodder of these enterprises was also considerably lower and its effect was naturally reflected in the increased costs per kilogram of meat and milk, while these products were sold for lower prices because their quality did not correspond to the price tariffs for quality production.

The lagging enterprises were most of all affected by the general tendency of production in Slovakia, which, while catching up in their growth with the Czech Socialist Republic enterprises, often do not ascribe prime importance to the quality of their production. This has been the story of the past year, the results of which have been examined often enough, when the Slovak enterprises have received for the same products 1 billion Kcs less than the Czech enterprises. Although we may be well pleased that today's enterprises which are lagging behind are in their present production level on par with those doing well in the 6th 5-Year Plan, we must always bear in mind how far they could have been if they had aimed not only at quantity but also at quality of their output.

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CSO: 2400/55

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REPORT ON GYPSIES IN SLOVAKIA

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Lydia Brabcova: "Right--But Also a Duty"]

[Excerpts] Twenty-two years ago, we began in our republic, in a planned and systematic way, the gradual social integration and overall education of our gypsy population. Through the well-known Czechoslovak Government Decree No 502/1964, we undertook a difficult task, fully aware that its implementation would not be a question of merely a few years because the transformation and re-education of several generations of this group in our population was at stake.

Recently, an all-Slovak meeting of chairman and secretaries of the councils on gypsy affairs of the kraj national committees, okres national committees, district national committees, the Bratislava City National Committee, and the Kosice City National Committee was held in Bratislava. Also attending were representatives of selected federal ministries, Slovak ministries and social organizations. This large plenum discussed the development of the politically serious and sensitive question of the lives of our gypsy fellow citizens. The main address, evaluating the implementation of our intentions, was delivered by Kazimir Nagy, Slovak Minister of Labor and Social Affairs and chairman of the Slovak Government Commission on Gypsy Affairs.

The point of departure in evaluating the work in this area is that at present there are 225,000 gypsy citizens in Slovakia and that their number has increased by 40 percent during the period under review. The gypsies are basically a younger social group in comparison with the rest of the Slovak population. Some 43 percent of gypsy children are below the age of 14, 50.3 percent of gypsies are in the productive age, and 6.3 percent in the post-productive age. The national committees have implemented the above-mentioned government decree by concentrating primarily in three basic areas: employment, pre-school and school education, and the housing problem.

Since the beginning of human history, work has elevated man. Work has formed and civilized man. Hence, it is natural that especially this fact should have become the main point in the complex plan of the social integration of this population group. Previously, however, only every other gypsy citizen was employed in practice. Today's statistics show that already 77.1 percent of gypsies who are in the productive age bracket work and an additional number

is being trained for work. The proportion of males who work is even higher--over 85 percent--and another 8.6 percent are being trained for work. As far as gypsy women are concerned, every other one works and an additional 7 percent are being trained for work. These are positive results. Those who work confirm the significant developing and educational role of work. They have started gradually to change their life style, voluntarily left gypsy settlements and shacks, and integrated with other citizens. Especially important is their interest in seeing their children in school and learning skills. At present, over 300 gypsies with secondary education are in the labor force. Some of them are teachers, physicians, army officers, engineerings and workers in other vocations who have acquired a university education. In spite of this fact, we cannot be satisfied with the gypsy employment statistics especially because over 27,000 gypsy fellow citizens in the productive age were unemployed in 1984. True, these also included disabled people and women who must take care of a large number of children. However, there were also those who simply did not want to work. This refusal to work is caused by alcoholism, the lack of skills, and many other phenomena which nevertheless all have the same denominator: shortcomings in systematic and consistent educational work, in excessive toleration and inertia on our part.

The raw data shows that a gypsy family is on the average three times as large as other families. A high birth rate (but also a growing number of mentally retarded children) worries us because not all mothers understand that a child needs only affection and plenty of food but also, or primarily, the ability to establish itself in the civilized world. To lead a gypsy mother to believe this requires unusually patient, sacrificing, and sensitive educational work. One must give credit to the members of the Slovak Union of Women, Red Cross, and to hundreds of health care and adult education workers that they again and again teach gypsy women--and nowadays even gypsy teenagers--to correctly understand their role in the family and especially in the upbringing of children. The national committees, too, perform valuable service in this respect. The result is the growing number of three-to five-year old gypsy children attending pre-school facilities. In the last 10 years, their number in all-day kindergartens has increased from approximately 32 percent to 67 percent. However, a Slovak Government decree calls for 88 percent attendance in order that the preparation of gypsy children for entry to the basic school may equal the preparation given to other children. When we recall that 15 years ago only 10 percent of these children attended kindergarten, then we can state that significant progress has been made. However, such progress is not enough to satisfy us. Pre-school education develops especially valuable attributes among children--will, discipline, sense of systematic work, and many other qualities also necessary for success in school.

The chain of problems which are not solved at the early age of children thus continues during the child's school years. It is absolutely necessary that all children regularly attend classes. Even if the situation in this respect has somewhat improved, on the whole we have not been able to eliminate the high figure of class cutting. In the past 10 years, the number of 101.5 hour of classes cut per gypsy child a year has declined to 84 hours. There is also the lack of systematic work in school and the fact that many children leave school while still in the lower grades which, naturally, eliminates their

chance for higher education and they go and enlarge the ranks of the unskilled. Numerous discussants at the above-mentioned all-Slovak meeting confirmed the finding that schools attendance is intimately connected with the academic performance of pupils.

The third group of problems connected with the gradual social integration of the gypsy population relates to their housing. Our election programs call for the gradual elimination of the concealed hamlets situated on the outskirts of communities. The national committees acquired and tore down 11,000 shacks and abolished 816 hamlets which significantly reduced the number of gypsy citizens living in this environment (from over 68 percent to 8.3 percent). Over 80,000 of them moved to the housing units among the rest of the population.

When evaluating the work in this difficult sector of educating our gypsy citizens, the meeting concluded that we have made progress even if the plan was not always and everywhere systematically and consistently implemented in all communities, okreses and krajs. The experience gained so far yields a lesson for the future to achieve even better results beneficial to our entire society.

1277/12947  
CSO: 2400/13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW THEORETICAL JOURNAL TO BE PUBLISHED

AU291219 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Oct 85 p 4

["Z"-signed article: "Theory of Socialism; New Scientific-Theoretical Magazine"]

[Text] As of next year, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague, together with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSL Central Committee in Bratislava, will publish a journal called THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM. In 1986, the journal will appear as a quarterly, later as a bimonthly. Its treatises, articles, reports, and information in the Czech and Slovak languages will be markedly oriented toward interdisciplinary research into three general problem areas that are not profiled in any other journal: the history of the CPCZ, the theory and practice of the construction of developed socialism, and the history and presence of the world revolutionary process.

The journal's purpose will be the exchange of views in scientific discussions from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, especially when it comes to developing theoretical activity in the sphere of the party's ideological work and in the creation of an effective system of education in a Marxist-Leninist weltanschauung.

THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM will publish partial results of the scientific research work of collectives and individual staff members [pracovníci] of the two institutes. The journal will also be open to authors working in party and state agencies, in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and at higher institutes of learning.

The new journal will certainly become an important helper of members and staffs of party and state organizations, ranking personnel of social organizations, the political apparatus of the Czechoslovak People's Army, teachers of party schools, lecturers of the CPCZ and the CSSR Socialist Academy, staff members of the Institutes of Marxism-Leninism at higher institutes of learning, of scientific staff of the socioscientific institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences, teachers of socioscientific faculties at institutes of higher learning, and all socioscientific departments of libraries in the CSSR.

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CSO: 2400/55

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KAPEK ADDRESS AT PRAGUE METRO OPENING REPORTED

LD022350 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 2 Nov 85

[Excerpt] The gala speech at a rally held to mark the opening of the new section of the Prague Metro today was delivered by Antonin Kapek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the Prague City party committee. In the speech he stressed that the building of the Prague Metro is an example of an honest work feat, an example of the high degree of work organization, the utilization of the most progressive technological solutions, and good quality. In we succeeded in applying these experiences at all workplaces we would be able to secure and highly surpass other tasks we have set before ourselves as well, said Comrade Kapek. In this connection he went on to say:

[begin Kapek recording] The aim of our organization endeavor must be to unite teams through work, through their interest in the accomplished feat, through mutual assistance and trust. We must fight against the misuse of the team for the furthering of a personal, narrowly selfish gain. Efforts to bring about better working morale and attitude toward common property are the only effective path to our tomorrow.

The building of the Prague Metro has become, from the outset, an edifice of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation. Its outcome is a high technical standard, operational reliability, quality, and powerful ideological and artistic impact. [end Kapek recording]

At the close of his speech, Comrade Kapek outlined future tasks of the building, reconstruction, and modernization of the capital. He thanked the people of Prague for their interest, constructive criticism, and their enterprising assistance and called on the capital's population to become at the same time its active builders and be true to the old Czech tradition of tolerance, concern, and hospitality. He thanked the supreme party and state bodies and Comrade Husak for their support and assistance in the development of the capital.

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CSO: 2400/55

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS--The five 440 mW units at Czechoslovak nuclear power stations are reliable and are generating above-plan electricity. The first unit at the Dukovany power station for example, "is exceeding the generating plan by more than 135 percent." This enables steam power stations to reduce their output to 94.5 percent. Stocks of coal at thermal power stations are presently 300,000 tons higher than in the same period of last year. The plan of general repairs at power stations has been fulfilled [Summary] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 30 Oct 85] /9871

ORDER OF FRIENDSHIP AWARDED--President of the Republic Gustav Husak has awarded the Order of Friendship to the Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russian Pimen, for many years of peace activity and for contributions to friendship between Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples. The high state honor was presented to him in Hrzan Palace in Prague today by Matej Lucan, deputy federal premier. In his speech he particularly praised the patriarch's personal patriotic activity and the effort he has shown for many years in the interest of understanding between nations and in the struggle for the preservation of world peace and his contributions to the development of cooperation with the churches in Czechoslovakia. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 30 Oct 85] /9871

ACADEMICIAN KUASIL DIES--An important representative of Czechoslovak science, Hero of Socialist Labor, academician Bohumil Kvasil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, deputy of the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly and president of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, died in Prague yesterday. [Excerpt] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 31 Oct 85] /9871

PROTOCOL WITH FRG--The 9th session of the Mixed Commission for Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the FRG ended today in Prague with the signing of a protocol. The commission evaluated the present state of cooperation between both countries and it set out further directions of cooperation in the next period. It gave particular attention to trade exchange between Czechoslovakia and the FRG and to further widening economic and industrial cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. /9871

BATTEK RELEASED FROM PRISON--Vienna, 1 Nov (DPA)--Rudolf Battek, a critic of the Czechoslovak regime, was released today shortly before the end of a 5 and 1/2 year term of imprisonment, it is reported from exile circles in Vienna. It is said that his release is connected with the forthcoming visit to Prague by the SPD chairman, Willy Brandt. Brandt, who is also chairman of Socialist International, is to visit Prague 8-10 November at the invitation of the CPCZ. Battek, 61, should have served one more month in prison, a term imposed for "subversive conduct." The former CSSR parliamentary deputy was earlier active as a Charter 77 spokesman. According to the same sources, he appealed to Brandt, as Socialist International chairman, some time ago in a letter smuggled from prison. Battek was Czech Socialist Party deputy. [Text] [Hamburg DPA in German 1703 GMT 1 Nov 85] /9871

CSO: 2300/64



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW LOCAL ASSEMBLY LAW OUTLINED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 39 No 9 Sep 85 pp 350-353

[Article by Prof Dr Klaus Heuer, member of the political staff of the SED Central Committee; Department for Political and Legal Matters: "Reflections on the New Law on Local People's Representations"]

[Text] At the Tenth SED CC Plenum, Erich Honecker stressed the following: "Upon the preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress, we are gearing ourselves to the demands we will have to meet to secure the future stability and economic dynamism of our country."(1) The discussion and enactment of the new law on the local people's representation belongs with this long-range objective.

By this law we reaffirm our intent to continue with the implementation of the SED Party Program, directed to the all-round strengthening of the socialist state and the further perfection of socialist democracy. By this law we also and above all provide important preconditions for the successful continued pursuit of the policy of the main task well beyond the year 2000. We rely on our sure experience that the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy is indissolubly linked with the utilization of all regional reserves and the application of socialist local politics, in other words the active efforts of the local state organs. The greater responsibility of the local state organs at all levels as reflected in the new law, their deepened cooperation with the enterprises, the expanding status of the people's representations as working bodies--all of that is thus not a temporary manifestation but an element of long-range policy.

I consider it important once more to recall these implications, earlier drawn to our attention by Egon Krenz(2) and Willi Stoph(3). After all, they prevent us from approaching the evaluation of the law too narrowly in the context of its specific significance or only from legalistic aspects.

A law can exert long-range effects only if and in how far it bases on a foundation of sound analyses and experiences. Consequently, the assessment of the results and problems involved in the implementation of the earlier law on the local people's representations (1973) ranked particularly high in the preparation of the new law. Special care was taken to study the experiences which are of growing importance for all local organs from the standpoint of

the future: Experiences regarding the management and planning of regional rationalization, the implementation of popular and performance oriented local policies, assistance to agriculture offered by the village representations, their councils and mayors, the increase in the authority of representatives and their efficacy in villages and urban residential areas, and so on. Council chairmen and mayors were then asked once more to express their opinion of the results recorded, thereby subjecting these results to another thorough "practical test." We thus ended up with a law which has been scrutinized from all angles and is therefore suitable for serving directly as an operating instruction. The new law generalizes the best experiences from the aspect of the new tasks.

What in fact is the difference between the rights and duties of the local people's representations and their organs as well as representatives as spelled out in the new law of 4 July 1985 and those of its predecessor? What are the new focal points, and what are the consequences arising therefrom for their detailed constitutional interpretation?

If this question is asked--quite justifiably so--, we need first of all stress the continuity of evolution. The basic structure of the law has been largely retained, in particular the characteristic division into a general section and special chapters for the various levels of state management--ranging from district to city and village. The basic shape of the law was also preserved: The new law is only slightly longer and spells out no more details than did the old one. Lastely, many of the basic constitutional precepts have been kept. This reflects the fact that many of the principles for state operations, evolved in the years following the Eighth SED Congress, have passed the test of day-to-day application, and that there is therefore no reason to amend them.

On the other hand, the new law certainly represents a qualitative advance in constitutional law, requiring a qualitative advance of state management. It reflects the significant social changes which have occurred since the Eighth SED Congress and, in one way or another, affect the status of the local organs. Virtually every article was complemented, more precisely defined or even completely transformed; some articles with new topics of regulation were added. It is therefore quite correct to speak of a "new version" rather than a "more precise definition" of the law. The main directions of change may be summarized under five headings"

#### 1. The Further Perfection of Democratic Centralism

Democratic centralism expresses the unity of central state management and the creative initiative of the mass of the people. "In this dialectic conditionality, democratic centralism has shown itself a stabilizing and mobilizing element of our development."(4)

The law consequently interprets the local people's representations and their organs as solid elements of the united socialist state power. As much more emphasized in the new law, the local people's representations and their organs are in charge of directing the implementation of the plan in the sectors subordinated to them and making sure that these sectors meet their economic

obligations (Article 2). At the same time the law gives them more means and possibilities for jointly with the enterprises and citizens developing local reserves and taking account of local conditions in the region. The people's representations themselves should operate even more as "working bodies" in the Marxian meaning, in other words within a constructive combination of people's representatives and state officials participate in decisionmaking and the implementation and supervision of decisions (Article 15). Analogous to the establishment and consolidation of the combines in the system of state economic management, the proper approach to the further development of the organization of the establishment and work of the local state organs consists in perfecting both sides of democratic centralism consonant with the respective concrete conditions.

The system of economic management must guarantee the priority of national interests as against combine, enterprise or regional interests and, at the same time, the proper consideration of these sectional interests for the benefit of the whole. We have learned in past years that the region and its resources are turning into an important focal point for the enforcement of comprehensive intensification. With respect, therefore, to the constitutional organization of democratic centralism from the central to the local state organs, the line of management from council to council is increasingly moving to the fore in conjunction with the mandatory force of the decisions of the superordinated for the subordinated people's representations (Article 9). In precisely this spirit, the law further elaborates the responsibility of the Council of Ministers for the (comprehensive) direction and supervision of the bezirk councils and the standardized operation of all local council; this responsibility is also more strongly emphasized by inclusion in the chapter on principles (Article 5, formerly Article 9). The principle of the dual subordination of the technical organs of local councils (Article 11), however important for guaranteeing the uniform management of the sectors with regard to basic issues, can merely complement but not replace this responsibility of the collective organ. The art of management by the ministries or superordinated technical organs consists in so organizing their work of guidance and supervision as to strengthen collectivity in the council and the comprehensive management of social development in the region by the people's representation and council.<sup>(5)</sup> The main point is the joint accomplishment of all tasks.

The provisions on the Council of State's responsibility for supporting the work of the local people's representations (Article 5 Paragraph 2) are largely identical with the corresponding statements of the Constitution (Article 70). Their inclusion in the law on the local people's representations mirrors the great importance (which has significantly grown in recent years) of the Council of State sessions and its recommendations for the practical work of the local people's representations down to the villages. The fact that the Council of State's responsibility is regulated in several paragraphs of only one article, underlines the objective connection between its guidance and support and the local people's representatives and their councils.

2. The Increase in the Responsibilities of the Local People's Representations and Their Councils for the Comprehensive Intensification of the National Economy

The law is based on the necessity to drastically raise the contribution of the local state organs to the growth of the national economy's performance. That applies to the sectors subordinated to the local state organs, such as district managed industry, agriculture, the local construction industry, and so on, as well as to support for combines and factories not subordinated to them. The proper approach to rising output is the implementation of the new stage of the SED's economic policy. The provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of the law, establishing the main tasks of local people's representations and the principles of their cooperation with combines, factories and cooperatives, illustrate the new standard of work required--the more so when they are compared with the corresponding articles of the old law. They demonstrate the high ranking that needs to be assumed in the work of all local state organs by the realization of the economic strategy with all its elements--from the acceleration of scientific-technological progress to the complete and rational utilization of the social labor capacity.

The orientation given in the first chapter of the law resolutely continues in the concrete provisions for the various levels of state management. It is at this point that the only real expansions of the law have occurred, for example special articles dealing with the energy industry as a management sector (Articles 31, 49, 72), while that industry was mentioned in the old law only in connection with transportation, environmental control and water management and, at village level, was not regulated at all. The same applies to, among others, secondary raw material management (Articles 25, 43, 69). The local state organs' responsibility for regional rationalization is included and regulated for the first time and, consonant with its importance, dealt with as a "focal point of local policy"(6) both as regards general principles and the various management levels (Articles 4, 21, 39, 63). It is no exaggeration to say that the SED's insistence on comprehensive intensification has largely defined the appearance of the law and thus changed it by comparison to its predecessor.

Something needs to be said about the legal organization. Obviously, the active involvement of the local state organs in the application of comprehensive intensification in the region includes the use of administrative powers. That is the reason for the renewed inclusion and even expansion of the catalogue of directive rights of local state organs with regard to nonsubordinated combines and factories whenever the national interest compellingly requires such directive rights. Similar effects result from the approval rights of the local state organs, especially with respect to location procedures.

On the other hand and consonant with well tried practice, the use of purely administrative mechanisms will again be omitted for regional rationalization. The focus here is cooperation with factories, cooperatives and facilities for plan drafting, the submission of the respective proposals, coordination of these proposals, and so on, in other words the development of socialist cooperation with the factories (see Article 39 Paragraph 2). Socialist collaboration between factories assumes increasing importance. In these cases, the local organ serves as the initiator without controlling the many activities involved. It is my opinion that lawyers must here help the local

state organs more surely to handle the set of necessary legal instruments which sharply differ from the various forms of classic administrative law (municipal contract, coordination protocol, performance contract, community in commercial law).(7)

### 3. The Expansion of the Rights and Duties of State Organs in Cities and Communities for the Implementation of a Popular Local Policy

The place value of local policy as an element of our total policy has steadily and noticeably risen in recent years. This is not a fortuitous phenomenon. With the influence of the policy of the main task, the vital spheres of citizens in cities and communities--ranging from work, housing and education to recreation, supplies and welfare--are objectively merging and must be dealt with and managed as a unit.(8) Particularly evident is the reciprocal interaction of local and farm policy. Increasingly the involvement in the management of common concerns in the city or community and the affection for one's familiar surroundings which grows from such activities, themselves become the driving forces of social development. All this is in profound contrast to the situation in the FRG, where the discussion of local issues is frankly ruled by the question: "What will local politicians have to do in concrete terms in view of the structural crisis and incipient social poverty?(9)

In accordance with the role of local policy in the organization of the developed socialist society, special pains were taken at the time the law was prepared, to elaborate the specific responsibilities of the city and village level of management and to clearly distinguish them from those at kreis and district level. The cities and villages are assigned such rights and duties as conform to their potentials and enable them to accomplish their local tasks (in so far as such accomplishment depends on and is achievable by legal norms). The provisions involved were further improved following consultation of the mayors on the draft law.

In the following I will comment the most important ones of the new regulations or further developments of earlier legislation:

-- The principle is more plainly stated and extended to more sectors, that the approval of the city or community council is required for changes in the tasks and method of operation (including, obviously, the closure) of infrastructural facilities which are carrying out services for the residents of the city or community--regardless of the subordination of such facilities (see Articles 68 Paragraph 2, 69 Paragraph 2, 78 Paragraph 1).

-- Hitherto regulated in outline only, local contracts of great practical importance for the organization of a performance oriented and effective local policy are now going to be exactly elaborated (see Articles 4 Paragraph 1, 63 Paragraph 4). Agreed in these contracts may be measures for the improvement of working and living conditions and for the development of the social-political and intellectual-cultural life as well as tasks regarding regional rationalization in general. The take-over (by means of local contracts) by the enterprises of tasks with respect to the reconstruction, modernization and maintenance of housing space is specially emphasized (Article 67 Paragraph 4).

It is important that cooperation for the improvement of working and living conditions for residents in the region is now going to be based on the legal obligation of the enterprises (although this is necessarily phrased in general terms): The obligation "to use all their potentials for the improvement of the working and living conditions of residents" (Article 4 Paragraph 3).

-- The rights and duties of state organs in cities and communities are being expanded with respect to the realization of the housing construction program in their region. In future, for example, city or community assembly approval is required for all changes in the deployment of the construction capacities available to the city or community council as per plan if such changes are likely to affect fulfillment of the annual plan. City and community councils may call to account the construction combines and enterprises carrying on housing construction in their area in order from their standpoint and backed by informations provided by residents to affect punctual and orderly construction operations (Article 66 Paragraph 3).

It is entirely in accord with the increase in the responsibilities of state organs in cities and communities, and therefore of great political import, for the status of the mayor and his duties to be particularly emphasized in the law (Article 62). The personal responsibility of the kreis council chairman for the instruction and training of the mayor is underlined and the main substance of the instruction function legally fixed. The first ever regulation of the employment and duties of honorary deputy mayors in city districts responds to practical needs and many practical experiences. At the same time it is interesting from the theoretical aspect because, as a result, constitutional relevance is assigned a unit below the community, that is the city district or village, which earlier had no more than sociological importance.<sup>(10)</sup> This provision was adopted in the interest of more intimate relations between the state management and the private citizen.

A last comment to this chapter: Article 61 Paragraph 4 states that even more tasks, rights and duties for the management of social life may be assigned the state organs of kreis cities and other large cities in the respective kreis. This presents a first opportunity with regard to the extent of rights and duties to differentiate between the majority of cities and communities on the one hand and the larger kreis cities which are not yet a city kreis on the other. This will enable us much better to take account of the truly very different field of management and responsibility of these two classes of state organs. It would surely be rewarding for constitutional and jurisprudence scholars (and definitely for the superordinated state organs, too!) to help the kreis assemblies and kreis councils to make the proper use of this new legal opportunity in the interest of the citizens.

#### 4. The Increase in the Authority of the Representatives and the Further Reinforcement of their Ties to the Voters

The new law includes virtually unchanged the fundamental provisions on the perfection of powers of the people's representations, the responsibility of the council for the preparation and utilization of the assembly's meeting, the tasks and method of operation of the permanent committees, and so on--all of which have long been part of the traditions of our society. Relying on the

SED's constant orientation to the evolution of the creative work of the people's representations, all those provisions were expanded, which serve the reinforcement of the representatives' authority and enable them better to knowledgeably and directly participate in the accomplishment of state tasks.

It is explicitly stated for the first time (Article 15) that the work of representatives "(enjoys) great respect and appreciation by the state and society." In close connection with this statement is the new right of the managers of state organs, enterprises and facilities, the executive boards of cooperatives, committees of the National Front and the managements and executive boards of parties and social organizations to submit proposals for honoring the work of representatives or themselves to conduct such ceremonies (Article 18 Paragraph 4). The right of representatives to ask questions is being strengthened to the effect that inquiries made during the session of the people's representation must normally be answered at the same session (Article 16 Paragraph 2). The committees' powers are extended to the extent that they are now authorized to direct recommendations at council members, enterprise managers and LPG chairmen, and the committees must be notified of compliance within 2 weeks (Article 14 Paragraph 2). Finally, the council is not only held generally responsible for backing the representatives, it is also enjoined in particular to keep them constantly kept abreast of all information required for the discussion and decisionmaking at the sessions, their committee work and in their electoral districts.

A second direction in which the provisions on the representatives have been perfected concerns their relationship with the citizens, specially the citizens in their residential districts. The law presumes that, in addition to his collaboration in the permanent committee and his work in the enterprise, the representative's efforts in the electoral district will always be of great importance. Work in the electoral district is therefore described as both a basic right and the duty of the representative (Article 16 Paragraph 1). Attention is drawn to the need for cooperation in groups of representatives and involvement in the electoral district activist bodies, but the forms of these activities have not been precisely spelled out, because they have developed in various ways due to varying conditions (Article 16 Paragraph 2). Lastly, consonant with the proven practice of most people's representations, the important role of those spheres of work is emphasized, which--from the beginning of the election term--are established between the representatives and the National Front committees (Article 16 Paragraph 3).

#### 5. Greater Demands on the Enforcement of Socialist Legality as well as on Order and Security in the Region

As before, the rights and duties of local state organs for the consolidation of order and security are settled in special articles for each level of state management. As a comparison of Articles 38, 56 and 79 demonstrates, here also it was held to be very important to clearly differentiate rights and duties in accordance with the specific level. Article 56 Paragraph 1 legally establishes as the main directions of the work of the people's representations in this field the three main directions of the law's influence on social

development as formulated at the Tenth SED Congress and expressed also in the comment of the SED CC secretariat to the report by the Annaberg Kreis management.

For the first time, a law on the local people's representations includes a provision on the responsibility of the kreis assembly and council for organizing the movement for exemplary order, discipline and security, as well as on the duty of the kreis assembly, consonant with the proven practice in this field, in long-range programs to establish measures to consolidate socialist legality as well as order and security (Article 56 Paragraph 2, see also Article 38 Paragraph 1). As regards the reintegration of citizens discharged from penal institutions and the education of citizens who disregard the standards of social cohabitation, the new law more strongly orients to the need for cooperation between the kreis organs and cities and communities.

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These are some of the main concerns pursued by the new version of the law and to be implemented in the work of the state organs. Before enactment by the People's Chamber, Monika Werner, mayor of Hennigsdorf, said on behalf of the SED fraction that the law will stimulate all local and central state organs to evaluate their work and improve it to meet the greater challenges.(11) Enactment does not yet signify realization. However important, discussions of the law at the sessions of the people's representation and by the council collectives, training sessions for representatives, and so on, do not yet ensure that all the people concerned will work to the standards of the law. That is why we must now devote the greatest attention to its implementation. In this context, I consider three aspects to be particularly important:

1. The fact that the law on the local people's representations must be interpreted as one of the most important constitutional laws of our state, a legal provision directly derived from the constitution, which affects and addresses not only the personnel of the state organs and representatives, their alternatives and appointed citizens but just as directly the party organizations of the SED, the managers of enterprises, enterprise departments and facilities, the executive boards of cooperatives, the managements of social organizations in enterprises and regions and all social forces. To make sure of a comprehensive effect, we are therefore compelled from the start to ensure the broad application of the law.

2. The fact that this is a complete and fundamental law, a kind of codification which needs to be dealt with and comprehended as a system. The theoreticians of jurisprudence say that "codification does not mean compilation but systematization."(12) The first chapter of the law, for example, includes a complete regulation of the status and main tasks of the local people's representations in the further organization of the developed socialist society, which carries over to all subsequent chapters and embraces all sections like an "internal band." Anyone disregarding this fact and looking at the sectional regulations only will hardly be able to fully comprehend the law's concerns with the management of the various sections either. The same applies to anyone who fails to take into account the interlocking of the provisions for the various levels. This is precisely the



point at which the constitutional and jurisprudence scholar as well as the practicing lawyer may provide valuable help to representatives and the staffs of the local state organs.

3. The fact that the standards of this law, more than of any other, represent "instructions calling the masses to practical action."<sup>(13)</sup> It will be imperative to derive from the discussion of the substance of the law new initiatives for the preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress (especially economic initiatives) and more quickly address the citizens' justified concerns. That requires us to think constructively beyond the text of the law. The Stralsund city council passed a resolution on its tasks in preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress. It was adopted before the enactment of the law but may already be considered an example of such constructive further thought.<sup>(14)</sup> Let us hope it will be followed by many others. As for the personnel of the organs of justice, it will be crucial for them to initiate concrete steps to further improve cooperation with the local people's representations in the spirit of the law.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. E.Honecker, "Zur Vorbereitung des XI.Parteitages der SED (Aus der Rede auf der 10.Tagung des Zentralkomitees der SED)" [On the Preparation of the Eleventh SED Congress (From the Speech at the Tenth SED CC Plenum)], Berlin 1985, p 31.
2. See E. Krenz, "Staat und Recht bei der Weiteren Entfaltung der Vorzuege und Triebkrafte der Sozialistischen Gesellschaft (Referat auf der Stats- und Rechtswissenschaftlichen Konferenz der DDR)" [State and Law in the Further Development of the Benefits and Motive Forces of the Socialist Society (Report at the GDR Constitutional and Jurisprudence Conference)], Berlin 1985, pp 50ff.
3. See W. Stoph, "Our Socialist Democracy is the Source of Ever New Initiatives" (speech at the introduction of the law on the local people's representations in the People's Chamber), NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 July 1985, pp 3f.
4. E.Krenz, as before, p 16.
5. See also "Staatsrecht der DDR, Lehrbuch" [GDR Constitutional Law, Textbook], Berlin 1977, pp 417f.
6. E.Krenz, as before, p 52.
7. See--with results that differ in some particulars--the interesting reflections by S.Loerler, "Economic Law and Local State Organs," STAAT UND RECHT 1984, No 12, pp 967ff; K.Schubert, "The Municipal Contract as a Legal Form for the Accomplishment of Municipal Tasks," STAAT UND RECHT 1985, No 3, pp 331ff; S.Petzold, "Community Work of Cities and Communities--an Important Constitutional Principle," NEUE JUSTIZ 1985, No 4, pp 127ff (129).

8. See E.Krenz, as before, p 56.
9. H.Koschnik, "Create New Confidence in the Dialogue with the Citizen" (report at the first municipal policy forum of the journal DEMOKRATISCHE GEMEINDE), DEMOKRATISCHE GEMEINDE (Bonn) 1985, No 5, pp 28f.
10. See R.Steding, "The Development of Socialist Villages--Crucial Condition for the LPG's to Flourish," STAAT UND RECHT 1983, Nop 2, pp 123ff, where the problem of a specific constitutional status of the village (as part of a community) was formulated for the first time (as far as I know) (pp 126f).
11. See "The Right of Each Citizen to Cooperation Further Expanded" (SED fraction comment on the draft law on local people's representatives submitted to the People's Chamber), NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 July 1985, p 4.
12. H.Klenner in K.A.Mollnau (editor) "Probleme Einer Strukturtheorie des Rechts" [Problems of a Structure Doctrine of Law], Berlin 1985, p 21.
13. V.I.Lenin, "Report on the Work in the Countryside (Eighth CPR(B) Congress)," in "Collected Works,: Vol 29, Berlin 1961, p 195.
14. The resolution was on the table at the Council of State meeting of 4 March 1985, and the Council of State forwarded it to all local people's representations for comment (see NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 March 1985, p 1).

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DISCUSSED IN FRG SOURCE

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 18 No 9 Sep 85 (signed to press 26 Aug 85) pp 949-959

[Article by Thomas Ammer, member of the research staff at the Gesamtdeutsches Institut in Bonn: "Human Rights Violations in the GDR"]

[Text] 1. CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] Final Documents and Human Rights in the GDR

One of the most important results of the CSCE was certainly the incorporation in the Helsinki final act of the obligation to respect human rights. It was achieved mainly by the persistent efforts of the Western and neutral signatory countries and in the teeth of initial resistance by the Eastern Bloc. In the final document of the CSCE successor conference in Madrid (1980-1983), the signatories reaffirmed their obligation to respect human rights on the same lines as in the Helsinki final act, supplemented by agreements on cooperation in humanitarian and other spheres. The conference of experts in Ottawa (7 May-17 June 1985) offered an opportunity for reviewing the observance of these obligations, and the topic will certainly be aired again at the next CSCE successor conference, set to begin on 4 November 1986 in Vienna. Principle VII in the statement of the Helsinki final act on the "principles guiding the relations of the participating countries" extends the signatory countries' obligations to international pronouncements and agreements on human rights, among them international conventions (pacts) on human rights. These include in particular the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights(1), ratified by the GDR on 2 November 1973. In contrast to the declarations of intent in the CSCE final document, this pact is binding in international law.(2) Principles VIII-XVII in the section "Issues of European Security" of the final document of Madrid dealt with the topic of human rights in even greater detail than the Helsinki final act. In fact Principle XV includes the renewed affirmation of the international conventions on human rights.

The GDR uses principally three groups of arguments to defend itself against Western criticism of its human rights practice. First it is claimed that the interpretation of human rights differs fundamentally in socialist and "capitalist" countries, so that Western criticism of the human rights practice of socialist states is irrelevant. Secondly it is constantly reiterated that Principle VI of the CSCE final act prescribes noninterference in the internal

affairs of states, so that Western criticism is inadmissible from this aspect. Finally, in particular lately, before the CSCE anniversary conference in Helsinki (30 July-1 August 1985), the GDR leaders frequently alleged that the requirements of the CSCE final act were fully met in their sovereign sphere. Statements to that effect were made by, among others, Foreign Minister Fischer at the Council of State on 17 June (3) and W. Kiesewetter, head of the GDR delegation to the Ottawa conference of experts. Still, Kiesewetter's concluding statement did include the sentence: "We do not claim to be perfect."(4) Consistory president M. Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Union of Protestant Churches in the GDR, was rather more blunt at the church conference in Greifswald on 22 June: "Important social and cultural rights have been realized in our country. That is an inestimable achievement. Its value is appreciated most by those who lose these rights after frivolous emigration. It will be all the more rewarding to gradually diminish persisting deficits with regard to individual rights and opportunities."(5)

In the following I will investigate violations of some human rights imbedded in the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights and reaffirmed by the CSCE final documents. I will deal mainly with the past 3 years but will also give details of events going back to the 1970's.

## 2. Violations of Human Rights in the GDR

### 2.1 Freedom of Movement and Entry/Exit

The right due everybody as per Article 12 of the Pact on Civic Rights, to be able to leave and return to any country, including one's own, may be restricted only on a legislative basis for the protection of national security, public order, public health, public morality or the rights and freedoms of others. In its second periodic report to the Human Rights Commission of October 1983, the GDR claimed to act entirely in accordance with Article 12 of the pact, and that restrictions were imposed exclusively on the terms listed there.(6)

#### 2.1.1 Border Administration

The GDR's most important and obvious violation of Article 12 of the pact is the border administration at its borders with the FRG. It is neither possible nor necessary to describe this in detail. Instead, it suffices to point out that, in connection with the removal of the self-firing automatic SM 70's at the end of 1984 (5 September 1984 was the date of the last injury inflicted by a SM 70 on a fugitive(7)), the system of the border barriers has been perfected even more by comparison to the former status.(8) The order to shoot remains in effect (9) and continues to be applied.(10) It is true that the Western side has lately recorded fewer uses of firearms against fugitives, but this seems to be due mainly to the fact that fugitives now tend to be caught in sections of the barrier farther removed from the border. The representatives of the GDR at the UN Human Rights Commission did not dispute the existence of the order to shoot. They justified it by indicating the 1982 border law and claiming it to be needed to defend the "national border."(11) The full text of the order to shoot is known in the West. It calls on the border troops to use firearms to, for example, prevent any action which

represents a "crime against the German Democratic Republic, against general security or against public order." (12) This and other reasons listed subsequently in the order to shoot refer also and quite particularly to the crime of "fleeing the republic" (Article 213 StGB [criminal code]), punishable by up to 8 years' imprisonment.

### 2.1.2 Political Penal Law

In addition to the border barriers, penal sanctions are the GDR authorities' main means for disputing their citizens' right to leave for Western countries. The political penalty judgements most recently publicized in the West are largely inflicted on persons who wish to leave the GDR, whether legally or illegally. Among the 634 political verdicts recorded by the Gesamtdeutsche Institut in the first 9 months of 1983, about 85 percent concerned attempts at flight or efforts to leave the country. (13) The section dealing with the GDR of Amnesty International's annual reports always lists verdicts on attempted flight and emigration efforts in first place. (14) More than 160 of the about 200 political prisoners cared for by Amnesty International in 1981 were in jail due to attempted flight or emigration. (15)

The persecution of GDR citizens wishing to flee or emigrate is tightly linked to the refusal of the freedom of opinion. The refusal of this freedom is frequently the motivation for the attempt to flee or emigrate. For their part, those wishing to emigrate tend to pursue their objective by particularly emphatic or public insistence on their desire to go. As a result, the judiciary organs use the tools of the penal law against them, though these are primarily designed to prevent the expression of opinions critical of the regime. (16)

The following penal provisions are usually applied:

-- Article 213 StGB--"unlawful border crossing": This regulation is used to deal with the majority of fugitives. As a rule the penalties range from 1-3 years. The top penalty was raised from 5 years to 8 years by the 1979 Third Penal Code Amendment Law. (17)

-- Article 214 StGB--"injury to state or social activity": Many people wishing to emigrate are punished as per this regulation, if they emphasize their desire to leave by persistent applications or public demonstration. In one instance, the person arrested for wishing to emigrate was told during interrogation at the Ministry for State Security (MfS) that a second application for emigration after rejection of the first already represented an offense. (18) In 1983, would-be emigres in Jena were sentenced as per Article StGB, because, dressed all in white, they had staged silent demonstrations in behalf of their goal ("the white circle"). (19)

-- Article 219 StGB--"unlawful combination": This penal regulation is often used with respect to would-be emigres who contact human rights organizations, mass media or other institutions in the West to promote their objective, in particular if this involves data and documentation of their personal situation. Article 219 StGB was used to persecute visitors to the FRG Permanent Representation at the GDR in East Berlin, who had there expressed

the wish to leave.(20) One example was the East Berlin theologian W. Quassdorf.

-- Article 220 StGB--"public denigration": This regulation, too, is often used to punish would-be emigres who strongly protest rejection of their applications. In 1978, for example, an applicant for emigration was condemned as per Article 220, because he had written postcards to the Interior Minister and letters to People's Chamber deputies, insisting on getting approval of his application.(22)

-- Article 99 StGB--"treasonable combination": This regulation frequently serves to condemn applicants for emigration whose wish to leave had been published in detail in the Western media, for instance in the publications "MENSCHENRECHTE" [Human Rights] and HILFERUFE VON DRUEBEN [Calls for Help from the Other Side].(23)

-- Article 106 StGB--"anti-state incitement": This regulation is designed to punish would-be emigres who publicly proclaim their wishes in combination with criticism of conditions in the GDR, for example by writing to Honecker (the case of R. Kulicke).(24)

-- Article 100 StGB--"treasonable actions": Rather like Article 99 StGB, this regulation is used against would-be emigres who ask Western organizations for help. Sentenced as per Article 100 StGB were would-be emigres who had sent personal documents and evidence of their efforts to leave to a West German television station, the Association for Human Rights in West Berlin, HILFERUFE VON DRUEBEN and Amnesty International.(25) Cases are also known of visitors to the FRG's Permanent Representation in the GDR being punished as per Article 100 StGB (the case of Th.Kollosche).(26)

-- Article 97 StGB--"espionage": This regulation was applied to punish fugitives categorized by the GDR authorities as in possession of official secrets and, in the opinion of the investigating organs, able upon successful flight to pass on their knowledge in the West.(27)

-- Article 225 StGB--"neglect to inform": Sentenced as per Article 225 StGB were people aware of plans and efforts at flight,(28) among others relatives of the Strelzyk family who fled to the FRG by hot air balloon in 1979.

-- Articles 105 StGB--"subversive trade in humans" and 132 StGB--"trade in humans": These regulations, used to punish Western helpers of fleeing GDR citizens, indirectly affect would-be fugitives in the GDR also. A recent and notorious case was that of E.-H.von Michaelis, mayor of Arolsen (6 years prison).

### 2.1.3 Other Methods Used to Obstruct Freedom of Movement

Among the methods for pressuring people but falling short of imprisonment are the following:

-- Threats by MfS personnel and the internal department at the kreis council;

-- Refusal to accept applications for emigration or to hand out application forms;

-- Loss of job and exclusion of their children from institutions of higher education;

-- Checks as per Article 48 StGB (used in particular in the case of released political prisoners), including a ban on residing in specific regions (specially East Berlin), the obligation to report often (sometimes daily) to the People's Police, ban on any change of job, ban on meeting with particular people, and so on;

-- Assignment of the special identity card "PM 12" which prevents the holder from traveling to the CSSR (possible to anyone holding a normal identity card) and designates him a suspect person upon any checks, at official agencies, and so on. In 1984 about 60,000 persons in the GDR are said to have had the "PM 12." (31)

#### 2.1.4 Refusal of or Delay in Family Reunions

In addition to representing a violation of the human right to freedom of movement, the refusal of or many years' delay in family reunions is also a violation of basket III of the Helsinki final act and the Madrid final document. Affected are mainly fugitives in the FRG, emigres and prisoners released from GDR jails. A well known and hitherto unfinished case is that of Jutta Gallus, a former political prisoner, who--after her arrest--was deprived of custody of her children. (32) The families of some sportsmen and women who had fled to the West from the GDR were able to emigrate in late 1984 after waiting up to 7 years. (33) Occasionally parents in jail are compelled to sign a statement releasing their children for adoption (among others the case of Gisela Mauritz). (34)

#### 2.1.5 "Barrier to Contacts"

Other violations of the CSCE final documents are represented by the measures described by the term "barrier to contacts," which affect some 3-4 million people in the GDR. They require these people not to maintain any contacts whatsoever with citizens of Western states, in particular to forego any travel on urgent family affairs. Such undertakings are exacted from "bearers of official secrets"--a very wide term as used by the GDR authorities. Its net catches pedagogical, janitorial and canteen staffs in official agencies, and so on. This "barrier to contacts" is often extended to family members also. (35)

#### 2.1.6 Deportation, Refusal of Reentry

According to Article 12 of the Pact on Civil Rights, nobody may be arbitrarily deprived of the right to reenter his own country. This provision is violated by the GDR practice, customary since the mid-1970's, to deport dissidents to the FRG or stop them from reentering the country after permitted departure on a visit abroad. The best known recent case is the deportation of Roland

Jahn, member of the "Jena Peace Community" in June 1983, soon after other followers of the Jena peace movement had been compelled to leave the country.(36) In these instances, an application for emigration is compelled by the threat that a long prison sentence may be expected in case of refusal. To be sought in this classification also is the even older and more frequent practice of refusing approval for visits to the GDR to fugitives, emigres to the FRG or released prisoners.

#### 2.1.7. Improvements in 1983/1984

Though the violations by the GDR authorities of the right to freedom of movement recorded here persist, gradual improvements have lately been noted. They include the rise in travel to the West by GDR residents who are not pensioners, from 45,700 (1982) to more than 64,000 (1983) and 61,000 (1984).(37) The figure for legal resettlers in the FRG has risen to more than 41,000 in 1984, compared with 10,000-15,000 in previous years. Some improvements are the consequence of the "Decree on the Regulation of Issues Concerning Family Reunions and Marriage between GDR Citizens and Foreign Citizens" of 15 September 1983,(38) the GDR leadership's response to the final document of the CSCS successor conference at Madrid.

### 2.2 The Right to Freedom of Opinion

Article 19 Paragraph 2 of the Civil Rights Pact guarantees the right to freedom of opinion as well as the free reception and dissemination of information. Restrictions are admissible in similar conditions as those listed in Article 12 (see above). However, as per Article 21 Paragraph 1 of the GDR Constitution, freedom of opinion is guaranteed only "in accordance with the principles of this constitution." Among these principles are the leading role of the party in state and society, the fundamental agreement of individual and social interests and the GDR's alliance with the USSR.(39) This interpretation of the GDR constitution and political penal code offers all the instruments needed to restrict the freedom of opinion up to and including the total elimination of this right.

#### 2.2.1 Penal and Other Legal Sanctions

Almost half the about 200 new political prisoners annual recorded by Amnesty International were sentenced for remarks critical of the regime.(40) Many of the penal code regulations used to combat the emigration movement are also applied here. Article 99 StGB ("treasonable spread of news") and Article 210 StGB ("unlawful combination") were referred to upon sentencing members of the Jena peace movement.(41) Dr W. Koch, a physician, was sentenced for proclaiming solidarity with "Solidarnosc" as per Article 100 StGB ("treasonable actions").(42) In 1978, Rudolf Bahro was convicted according to Article 97 StGB ("espionage"). Article 106 StGB ("anti-state incitement") served as the pretext for convicting the members of a "GDR section" of the KPD-ML [Communist Party of Germany-Marxist-Leninist] (pro-Albanian) and sentencing them to up to 8 years jail for, among other offenses, distribution of KPD-ML newspapers and leaflets.(43) The same article was called upon to justify a 7-year prison sentence for physicist Rolf Schaelicke (44) for passing on in Leipzig tapes of Biermann's songs, writings by Bahro and



leaflets with similar content.(45) Article 220 ("public denigration") was used to convict Roland Jahn in 1983 for proclaiming his solidarity with Poland.(46) In addition to Article 219 StGB, Article 218 StGB ("combination for the pursuit of illegal objectives") served to convict followers of the peace movement in Berlin, Gera and Erfurt as well as the "Monday group" in Weimar.(47) Article 214 StGB ("rowdyism") and Article 163 StGB ("deliberate damage to socialist property") were used against persons who had painted political slogans and symbols on walls.(48) Also called upon was the Decree on Combating Misdemeanors of 22 March 1984,(49) used to punish wearers of the patch "swords into plowshares" and the Order on Events of 30 June 1980,(50) used against physicist E. Poppe for allowing a literary reading in his apartment in late 1983.(51)

### 2.2.2 Other Methods for Obstructing the Freedom of Opinion

Other methods used in the GDR to restrict or cancel the right to the freedom of opinion are so many and varied that they can merely be listed here (and that does not include all of them, either): Pressure exerted on unpopular persons to apply for emigration; repeated checks; short-term arrest for the purpose of interrogation; deliberate call-up for reservist exercises; residence restrictions (specially the ban on residence in Berlin, see the verdict of Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg Kreis Court against writer Detlef Opitz, though, admittedly, this was thrown out on appeal;(52) the call on writers to forego publication in the West.(53) A chapter of its own (not dealt with here by reason of lack of space) is represented by the graduated obstacles to writers with regard to publication of their works. These may range to a complete ban on publication in the GDR.

### 2.2.3 No Total Abolition of Freedom of Opinion

Even now the GDR authorities tolerate some expression of critical opinions. No harassment is known to have been meted out to the signatories of open letters to the World Youth Games in Moscow and to Honecker on the occasion of the UN Year of Youth, by means of which 34 and 26 GDR residents respectively called for the realization of human rights in the GDR.

No general ban on publication has been imposed on the writer Gabriele Eckart who, in 1983, published in the journal SINN UND FORM [Meaning and Form] quite blunt criticism of the GDR ban on travel to the West ("Two Taped Protocols from Havel Fruit").(55) Currently the GDR authorities do not prevent writers such as Stefan Heym, Christoph Hein, Christa Wolf, and others, who are not permitted to publish their works in the GDR or publish them only with restrictions, from allowing their works to be issued by Western publishers. On the other hand, the legal and other instruments available to the GDR leadership are quite sufficient to cancel such concessions at any time.

## 2.3 The Right to the Freedom of Thought, Conscience and Religion

Article 18 of the Civil Rights Pact guarantees to all the right to exercise and affirm a religion or ideology, requires the abandonment of any compulsion likely to impair this right and incorporates the right of parents to religious education for their children. This right, again, may be restricted in some

circumstances, such as the need to defend public security and order. In its second periodic report to the Human Rights Commission, the GDR claimed observance of Article 18 but pointed out the obligation of churches "to respect the sovereignty of the state, its constitution and legal system, and on that basis to organize their relations with the socialist state." (57)

Obstruction to religious freedom in the GDR is directed less against the churches as institutions than against individual Christians for their open religious profession and the corresponding actions. The measures described above against followers of the independent peace movement represent an impairment of religious freedom in so far as they are directed against actions that may be considered the expression of religious belief.

Disregarding some recent improvements, discrimination still persists in the educational system against children of Christian parents, particularly with regard to admission to the expanded secondary school and universities. A short time ago, General Superintendent Esselbach of Cottbus referred to this fact at the eastern regional synod of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church. (38) The 1984 annual report by the Dresden Land Church Office to the synod of the Saxon Protestant-Lutheran Land Church lists 40 such cases. (59) Citizens who profess the Christian faith are normally banned from access to the teaching profession. (60) Other causes of complaint in the recent past have been MfS surveillance of church bodies and groups, (61), measures taken against young people who were wearing the patch "swords into plowshares, (62) and censorship of church newspapers. (63)

Still, the churches are able to provide some protection to the religiously motivated peace and environmental groups in the GDR, and so far they have not been prevented from openly criticizing the discrimination of Christians for their religious beliefs. On occasion, the state managed press actually allocates a good deal of space to church proclamations if they do not basically contradict official foreign policy but express some reservations about government policy. That was the case with regard to the publication of a letter written to Honecker by the Dresden-Loschwitz parish on missile armament in West and East (64) and the dissemination of the comment by the GDR Protestant Church leaders on the 10th anniversary of the signature of the CSCE final act with the admonition: "However, the possibilities of encounters between people from the German states should no longer lag behind the customary international rules." (67)

#### 2.4 Protection of Legality and Public Confidence in the Law

Article 14 of the Civil Rights Pact also guarantees public court proceedings unless special reasons, such as the defense of public order or national security, call for the exclusion of the public. The defendant is also assured of the right to be informed about the indictment, to prepare his defense and choose his counsel for the defense.

The GDR's political investigative and penal proceedings violate Article 14 in particular by obstructing the defense. The accused is allowed to contact counsel only after a lengthy interval, frequently not until after the conclusion of the investigation. The investigating authorities often allow

the accused or defendant to discuss with counsel only topics which do not relate to the indictment (see the interview with Dieter Graef, former attorney in the GDR, in this issue, p 971). MfS interrogators very often use threats to make the accused sign minutes though their text does not agree with the accused persons' statements.(68) Blank refusal greets any request for the texts of laws or the actual indictment and verdict for note taking; the indictment is either merely read to the accused or given him for no more than a brief glance.(69) The public is excluded from all political trials either formally or in practice by admitting only selected officials and MfS members to the audience.(70)

## 2.5 Protection Against Torture or Cruel and Inhuman or Humiliating Treatment or Punishment

Article 7 of the Civil Rights Pact unconditionally bans the use of torture as well as of cruel or inhuman or humiliating treatment or punishment. In its second periodic report to the Human Rights Commission, the GDR referred to the laws of the country and claimed such treatment "contradicts its legal and ethical standards and does not occur in practice."(71)

Although the prosecuting and prison authorities of the GDR are not subject to the accusation of physical maltreatment of prisoners, reports abound about the use of psychological pressure on prisoners held by the MfS for investigation, particularly by threatening the arrest of family members and friends.(72)

In some cases, however, the GDR prison administration may be reproached with "inhuman, cruel or humiliating treatment." Though physical abuse is not prevalent in GDR jails, incidents do occur repeatedly. In late 1984, such reports increased in frequency, so that the GDR felt compelled to officially reject the concerns voiced by Parliamentary State Secretary at the Federal Ministry for Inner-German Relations Hennig.(73) At a hearing held by the Bundestag Committee on Inner-German Relations on 8 September 1982, several witnesses made similar allegations and also spoke of the lack of safety precautions in many penal workshops.(74) The execution of justice law of 7 April 1977 and the two implementing regulations of the same date(75) did indeed initiate some improvements (specially with regard to mail, visits and, temporarily, food), but the abuses noted in recent years were not abolished thereby.(76)

## 3. Conclusions

Before international bodies, GDR representatives usually respond evasively to accusations of human rights violations in the GDR. They tend if possible to avoid dealing with concrete cases and generally argue their claim for noninterference in internal affairs as well as the exceptions admissible as per the Civil Rights Pact for restrictions on human rights (national security, and so on).(77) However, it is evident that the GDR Government is definitely concerned about international criticism of its human rights practice, especially by its reports to the Human Rights Commission and answers to the questions of commission members. In the final effect it has conceded the right of the countries that ratified the pact to judge the observance of the Civil Rights Pact in the GDR just as in any other signatory country and to ask

for the redress of abuses. After ratification of the Civil Rights Pact and the CSCE final act and despite its insistence on noninterference, the GDR leadership must allow itself to be treated like a government that did not immediately intend to completely or essentially by means of domestic legislation renege on the obligations resulting from this pact and these documents. GDR propaganda likes to dismiss Western demands for the realization of human rights in the GDR as "ideological diversion" and incitement to dissidence. It may be counterattacked with the claim that it is the fault of its current political system that the realization of human rights benefits a latent opposition. When, to justify its current practice, it appeals to the danger to national security, public order, and so on, in the case of the realization of human rights, it must demonstrate in the concrete individual instance whether and to what extent such a threat actually arises by the realization of a human right. It would then have to provide information about its own estimate of the internal stability of its state--a presumably awkward situation if it had to admit that, for example, a silent demonstration by a few dozen citizens clad in white and who wish to emigrate, is intolerable as a threat to national security.

A combination of public criticism and "quiet diplomacy" has usually been the best method for influencing the GDR in the interest of the realization of human rights. The effects might be even greater if we were to succeed at least in some individual instances in coordinating public criticism and "quiet diplomacy." Basically, the gradual implementation of human rights is a worthwhile objective, while sonorous general demands to the effect that "we want human rights but no small steps" tend not to produce tangible results. The improvement in the minimum rights of political prisoners--whether at the investigation stage or in jails--as called for by the documents published for the Belgrade CSCC successor conference in 1977 (78) would not represent a breakthrough in the realization of human rights in the GDR, but it would surely be a most welcome step.

We therefore need constantly to confront the GDR leaders with the question whether the extent of human rights violations and restrictions practiced in their sovereign sphere is in fact absolutely necessary to maintain the political and social system in the GDR. Very often the opinion held in Western and neutral countries that the existence of "real socialism" can be secured only by the methods presently used, will turn out to be a fallacy. Moreover, we might counter such an argument by saying that the observance of human rights would be a vital factor in building up the GDR public's confidence in their government. In that case even the right to emigrate and reenter would no longer represent an existential threat to the GDR.(79)

The greatest possible objectivity and precise knowledge of the political and legal situation must be required of Western observers with regard to assessing the practice of human rights in the GDR as well as in other countries. For example, the assertion is quite untenable that a forcibly adopted child may be detained in a GDR youth prison up to the age of 25--without a court order.(80) Incorrect because unexamined accusations damage the cause of human rights just as much as excessive criticism at any time--because in that case it is almost impossible to intensify the criticism should the situation deteriorate.

Finally, everybody committed to the realization of human rights in the GDR must be quite aware that there is no possibility to exactly prove the connection between public criticism here and the settlement of a case of human rights violation in the GDR as long as the "quiet diplomacy" and the "special efforts of the Federal Government continue. Very rarely will an organization or individual be able to prove that it alone successfully helped in a concrete case of human rights violation in the GDR.

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HUNGARY

RECENT LIBERALIZATION DEFENDED AS SOCIALIST

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Jeno Farago: "Democracy With Commitment"; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] A real history of the development of socialist democracy since the liberation already exists. During this time it has been established that its development will be an indispensable condition for the building of socialism in the future--as it had been in the past. As the congressional report concluded: /"The effective operation of the institutions of socialist democracy strengthens the power of the workers and helps us to attain our goals more quickly."/

In a socialist society, the development of democracy cannot be separated from the development of political and economic foundations. If we were to enact measures to expand democratic rights independently of these, we would have to confront the danger that these rights would become formalized and would not represent anything more than ceremonial pronouncements. We meet this phenomenon although with different manifestations, in western societies, where it often turns out that the rights gained by the workers' movement are just formalities and the masses may not actually exercise them because the foundation is missing: the power of the workers. In our case danger lurks in another aspect: we could proclaim rights for which we do not as yet have the necessary economic and financial resources or the cultural and institutional framework is lacking in order to exercise them in reality.

Mature Conditions

For example, before we were able to place the system of enterprise guidance that is now being implemented on the agenda, we first had to make a departure from the strictly centralized guidance and accustom the enterprises to independent decision-making. In this more democratic guidance system a management and workers' stratum could develop which is not only formally, but also actually capable of independent decision-making and management, as a consequence of its maturity and preparedness.

As an example, we could also point to the expansion of the democratic nature of our electoral system--how and why we reached the point of the now compulsory multiple nominations precisely in the last few years. The conditions for this

change also had to mature. These included the transformation of the people, social classes and strata, and the creation of a national unity in which the party's policy of alliances had the greatest role. However, it was also necessary to create other conditions. The masses had to be prepared for conscious and responsible elections in a country where entire generations have grown up without being able to know or even bequeath to posterity the customs of the exercise of bourgeois democratic rights. Consequently, millions of people had to first attend the "lower grades" of democracy before being gradually placed into the "higher grades". This required time, as did the assurance that there would be greater numbers of people than previously who have gained the qualifications through the course of many years of public service to responsibly and competently represent the working people.

The leading spokesmen of western propaganda act as though they did not know or understand all this and attribute the democratic development and liberalization in Hungary to experimentation with a new social model which is divergent from those of other socialist countries, whereas we are merely realizing the historical program of the development of democracy, in a manner and at a place which is in accordance with the mature conditions and the conviction articulated by the congress as follows: /It is only possible to solve our tasks through the ever greater mobilization of our peoples' creative energies./

In the above, we mentioned how western propaganda purposefully misrepresents the domestic program of democratic development. But we too encounter faulty notions and views in discussions about democracy, even ones of which it might be said that they were influenced by bourgeois propaganda, the illusion of bourgeois democracy which even now tempts certain circles, and views as well as types of conduct which could demonstrably be shown to stem from /our/ circumstances even if ideologically they have been transplanted from foreign soil.

In a socialist society, the development of democracy is neither political window-dressing nor an end in itself but an indispensable requirement for the implementation of the socialist program. It is not something that either exists or does not exist; there is no socialism without democracy. It is an instrument for the realization of socialism. Consequently, it is necessary to expand democratic rights everywhere--in the institutions of authority and not in the least, where the social system and the destiny of the nation is decided: /in the production of material goods/. This is so not only because at present this is the most important sector in terms of our progress, but also because this is where the millions of people are employed, the maximal utilization of whose creative energies is an indispensable condition for our development. This is another reason we have been striving for decades to further develop the macroeconomic management system, the cornerstone of which is the democratization of guidance from organizational decentralization through the wide range of increasing independence up to the point where today the workers have even received the right to elect the leaders and leading bodies.

This is a step of historical significance. Nevertheless, there are some who would consider the expanding possibilities for private initiative in the economy and in other areas of life as having greater importance and of even

being a decisive criterion for the development of democracy. Without denying the importance of the latter measures, it must be understood that the program which is of true historical significance is the former: /the democratization of leadership and management in the socialist sector./ To lose sight of this is not simply an erroneous perspective but could also be financially harmful. That is, if we do not concentrate the better part of our attention, energy, work and abilities toward translating the expansion of democracy into financial strength in the socialist sector and into a source for more efficient, intense, and skilled work, the development of democracy will not bear the fruit we had expected and the invested human creative energies will not yield greater interest. The purpose of the bourgeois propaganda is precisely to push us in this direction; it has yet to be proven that the socialist factories and enterprises are also not viable in a more democratic management system, that the true criterion of democracy is the western type of free enterprise and privatization, or that the single redeeming social form is bourgeois democracy.

#### Not According to a Bourgeois Recipe

The arguments of western propaganda are very transparent: it represents the freedom of the private sector and enterprise as being the almost exclusive criterion for democratic liberties. Consequently--and this is the essence of their reasoning--freedom and human rights exist in socialist countries only to the extent that the conditions for universal private enterprise in the economy and in every other aspect of life are guaranteed. One participant at the congress responded to this idea: /"...those who wish to 'remedy' the undoubtedly existent shortcomings of socialist democracy according to the recipe of bourgeois democracy are mistaken."/

We feel that the expansion of private initiative and the democratization of management in the socialist sector are not contradictory or mutually exclusive, since both factors serve to advance and strengthen socialist society. At our present level of development, private enterprise /is complementary to/ the socialist economy in the same way that the small enterprises are. Our task is to /bind/ these enterprises /to the socialist economy ever more tightly/ or to make them an organic part of it. There are two main ways to do this. One way is to ensure that these enterprises /truly/ satisfy national economic needs in an organized and supervisable way. The other is that their operation and pursuit of profit should be conducted in such a way that they are in harmony with our laws based on the principles of socialist justice. Only by fulfilling these conditions could these enterprises supplement and help socialist economy, and this is the only way they could fit, without tensions and conflicts, into a society whose economic foundations are /socialist/, and where the majority of the instruments of production are collectively owned. With regard to democracy, this means that private enterprise in our society could fit into our economy by following the norms of democracy of socialist society.

Democracy does not simply represent rights but also responsibilities to the workers of the socialist sector. This is just as valid for the workers in the private and small enterprises. The simultaneous assertion or implementation of rights and responsibilities through the democratic supervision of the workers, could significantly assist in dissolving the tensions arising in our

society in connection with the small and private enterprises, partly because of immaturity and partly because of genuine distortions and abuses.

#### Against a One-Sided Interpretation

However, we also find tensions in other areas. When people--to quote from the congress--/"...pursue their real or imagined interests to the detriment of the community, they neglect or consciously breach their responsibilities."/ The one-sided pursuit of democratic rights and the neglect of responsibilities creates tensions among people and in the workers' collectives, just as the cumulative effects of negligence and mistakes do on the national economic level. And we must emphasize this because harm done to the common property, wrongful profit-making, the relaxation of civic discipline, leniency, and the absence of supervision are demonstrable in the various areas of the economy and life--this is not a sectorial phenomenon and these faults cannot be blamed on only /one/ or /another/ sector.

The one-sided interpretation of democracy or its interpretation only from the viewpoint of rights is a phenomenon which is observable in a wide range of social circles. Accordingly, it is necessary to reinforce discipline and centralism in all aspects of life simultaneously with the development of democracy. The expansion of democratic rights always necessitates this since it must be guaranteed that the new and expanding rights are exercised in the spirit of the laws and in accordance with the functioning of the supervisory systems.

It is a historical fact that the masses better appreciated the connections between rights and responsibilities when the country had to be rebuilt and new life had to be created from the ruins. Perhaps this was so because the people intimately understood that the beginnings of democratic rights were only machines pulled from the rubble and they could be its newly sown seeds, because there is no life without them and consequently, no democratic rights. Why is it that we do not feel this same correlation when we are not fighting for mere existence or survival, but instead we must struggle for a better, richer life? Is it because the relationship between rights and responsibilities does not represent the cruel dilemma of survival or destruction, life or death? Nevertheless, even today the alternative is of vital importance: either we close ranks behind the more developed countries of the world through the vigorous and intensive development of our economy or we will be left behind in a historical sense. Either we hold our own in the economy so we can also guarantee the means necessary to halt the aggressive forces from its resources, or we may even inadvertently encourage possible aggressors by our backwardness.

If we always keep these relationships before us during the working week, we will not only think of our rights and responsibilities toward our families, but also of those toward the country and well as those devolving on us toward the world. The development of socialist democracy based on the unity of rights and responsibilities is in this sense also a historical task.

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POLAND

# ZSL LEADER ON PARTY COALITION IN SEJM

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Oct 85 p 3

[Interview with Roman Malinowski, deputy premier, by Piotr Ziarnik; date and place not specified]

[Text] Running in the Sejm elections on the nationwide list, Roman Malinowski, president of the Supreme Committee of ZSL and deputy premier, was interviewed by RZECZPOSPOLITA on the subject of a coalition government in Poland and on his impressions from meetings with voters.

[Question] I would like to hear your opinion on a matter which has not surfaced in the elections campaign, but which has a primary significance for democratic renewal at the highest levels of authority, i.e., the Sejm and the government, namely, on a system of coalition rule in Poland.

[Answer] Granted, for that is both interesting and important. This is truly important in the process of democratizing public activities and it is seldom brought up. And still during the last few years we have made enormous progress in implementing this political principle. The Sejm, in the term ending in July, played a large part in this. It, and especially its commissions, became a forum for a cooperating coalition, for discussions conducted in an atmosphere of respect, identification and propriety, by the political parties, Catholic and lay associations, and nonparty circles represented in the Sejm. As a result of these discussions, legislation was passed which became the legal basis for reform of entire areas of life in our country. It was the same in the Council of Ministers. Thus, we have a wealth of comprehensive experience on this question.

[Question] Let us begin perhaps with what is frequently talked about, especially among members of the ZSL, when the ZSL's standing is discussed: your view on combining the functions of the president of ZSL with the position of deputy premier.

[Answer] The practice of combining these functions, just as with other members of a coalition ruling system, is, in my opinion, of a temporary nature. It was unavoidable during the difficult, dramatic period of the beginning of the 1980's.

This practice created support for the government in its work on a broader public base, and it permitted me to transmit the ZSL's position, opinions, viewpoints and the experience of its public base, which is the countryside, to the work of the government.

This also had a positive effect on the ZSL, on its position and authority.

I feel, therefore, that during this period combining the functions of the president of the peasant party with the position of deputy premier passed muster. It was good for the government, for the ZSL, and for the state. As things stabilize and become normal, this will change.

[Question] Therefore, you can speak of a coalition rule system on the basis of your personal experience. What are the features and advantages of such a system?

[Answer] Development of a coalition ruling system is one of the important elements in socialist renewal. It means that conclusions will be drawn from the bad experiences of the long period prior to 1980, when it was treated only formally, which undoubtedly was one of the reasons that the social crisis grew. The approach to this matter changed after 1980. Since then, a coalition ruling system is regarded as one of the constitutional principles of the political system. This is expressed in article 3 of the Constitution. The role of the PZPR as the leading force of our society in the building of socialism is defined in that article. It lists the participants of this system, namely the ZSL and the SD, the social organizations and societies, and PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth), and also the platform for their working together in this system--working together on the basis of the Polish People's Republic's political system, the uniting of the people for the good of the socialist state, for its consolidation and universal development.

The principle matter in reviving the coalition method of governing was to raise the standing of the political factions--the ZSL and SD, to recognize their all-state character, to emphasize joint responsibility for the state, to base and develop relations between the PZPR and ZSL and SD on the principles of partnership while acknowledging their complete independence and ideological identity.

The development of coalition rule is the result of democratic renewal in the practice of the political system in our country.

And what are its advantages? First of all, it expands the social base of governing, it contributes to better solutions to various state problems, it gives a sense of identity to the partners in the coalition, it makes joint decisionmaking really possible, and it increases their joint responsibility for the country and its development. And what is also very important, it is conducive to progress in national reconciliation.

In a coalition system decisions are made on the basis of consensus--discussions, coordination of positions. This enhances mutual loyalty of participants,

it makes the partnership real, it strengthens the position of the partners in the society, and also the position of the PZPR as the leading force in the building of socialism. It is also a guarantee of consistency and control in the implementation of the line of socialist renewal.

[Question] Then this is not a tactical solution, similar to the so-called government coalitions in countries where there is a "free play of political forces," but this is a coalition which can be described as institutional...

[Answer] The coalition of socialist forces in Poland is deeply rooted in the traditions and common experiences and struggles of the peasant and workers movement, in the idea of the National Front from the war period. As we see, it also passed the test in the difficult recent years. It makes it possible to solve difficult problems now, and I believe, also in the future.

Our coalition, I would say, is a socialist coalition based on the lasting friendship of partners who are working together and not contending or competing each other. Therefore, it is a denial of the free play of political forces under capitalistic conditions. Anyway, it should be said here, this "free play of forces" is a sham.

Our coalition is of a permanent nature.

I believe that the elections will produce a parliament, the highest state authority, based on a broader social base than heretofore, as can be judged by the list of candidates. This will make it possible to expand the coalition system of rule and strengthen it.

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CSO: 2600/71



POLAND

#### ZSL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] The presidium of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, at a meeting held 8 October, heard a report on the visit of a delegation from the Polish People's Republic, headed by General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers and first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, in Cuba and at the 40th Anniversary of the UN General Assembly in New York. The report was presented by Jan Kinast, deputy minister for foreign affairs.

It was acknowledged with appreciation that Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech at the United Nations in the name of the Polish nation and the initiatives and proposals that it contained are of far-reaching significance to international detente, maintenance of peace, a halt in the arms race, an improvement in the international climate, and the development of economic and cultural relations on the basis of partnership.

The presidium of the Supreme Committee expressed its opinion on the observances of the 90th anniversary of the peasants' political movement.

The initiatives of the circles, the ZSL echelons, and the entire rural community, the mass participation of the people in the observances, express the identification of the participants of these events with the ZSL ideological line and program, as outlined by the Ninth Congress, support for the intensive implementation of the process of reform and the course of our country's further development, as defined in the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) elections declaration.

The ZSL Supreme Committee presidium familiarized itself with the proceedings which took place at an international meeting of the party and peasant and allied organizations, held in Warsaw on 23 and 24 September 1985.

Thanks were expressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Office of the Council of Ministers, the Warsaw authorities, and to all who contributed to preparations for the international meeting. Ernest Kucza, deputy minister for foreign affairs, and Witold Lipski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee Foreign Commission, participated in this part of the deliberations.

Next on the agenda the presidium assessed the execution of ZSL's tasks in the elections campaign to the Sejm. It was stated that there is a great deal of interest on the part of the rural residents in the voters' meetings with the candidates for deputies. As is typical for this community, realism and concrete national problems, examined from the standpoint of local problems, dominate. The past participation of ZSL echelons and members in the elections campaign was discussed and further tasks in this area were defined.

The presidium heard a report on the rural population's state of health, and the current sociopolitical and economic situation, including the state of root-crop harvesting and agriculture's preparations for the fall season's work.

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POLAND

MICEWSKI RESPONDS TO POLEMICS ON POLITICAL 'CENTER'

Czestochowa NIEDZIELA in Polish 6 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Andrzej Micewski: "The Golden Mean and the Polemics About It"]

[Text] So, this matter has been raised and now it is the topic of the day. In NIEDZIELA of 8 September, 1985, I wrote that the polarization of attitudes now in Poland's future, and therefore it would be good if an ideological "center" crystallized which would be able to communicate with the two opposite poles of society.

My article, like earlier articles by Jerzy Turowicz in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, has brought forth numerous reactions. I am not going to respond to some of these at all, for if I engaged in polemics with writers such as Mr Jerzy Lobman, whose primary concern is not to discuss the problem but to clamp down on his political adversary, I would only be helping to put the church against the state, or some believers against some nonbelievers, and this is something I want to avoid at any price. Zdzislaw Morawski of ZYCIE WARSZAWY displayed more goodwill than others. Naturally, he had many doubts and objections to the idea of a "center" but then he at least tried to acknowledge there was a point in it. He should be commended for his labors, but I am told he came under attack from far away for this. I share with Morawski the understanding that such a problem does exist, a problem which, although slowly, will some day be acknowledged by official circles. At this point let me once more make it clear that I am not discouraged from the idea of a "center" nor from seeking platforms of cooperation for saving Poland from the numerous dangers it faces. However, we, catholics, can commit ourselves to rapprochement or agreement only when our partners come to understand that we have our own social doctrine which we are never going to compromise. We are therefore ready to cooperate on the ground of our ideology, but not on that of any ideology which is incompatible with ours.

This is precisely what the otherwise brilliant Daniel Passent cannot, or does not want to, understand. He happened to publish what is one of the his worst-ever articles in POLITYKA of 21 September 1985. Passent says that since the situation is bade, we should "get out of the trenches rather than digging ourselves in even deeper." Our getting out of the trenches is interpreted by him as an all-out acceptance of socialism. But, dear Daniel, you already have such people on your side, so if you want others to join in the work for Poland,

then you have got to respect their ideological identity and separate orientation, namely a Social Catholic one. Passent asks about the "center force's" program of actions.

I think I have espoused it using Primate Glemp's words as well as my own. We are not quarrelling over designations, nor are we determined to launch any political revolution. What we want is the "ideal Motherland, a Poland which would be the mother of all Poles, one organized as a lawful, just, democratic and tolerant state respecting the past and the national cultural heritage and which is also open to the national cultural heritage and which is also open to the future and to friendly relations with all nations, especially with Poland's neighbors." If somebody fails to understand these words clearly, then such a person is not really serious about reconciliation. The kind of doctrinaire declarations Passent comes up with were heard frequently from the late [propaganda chief in the 1970's] Jerzy Lukaszewicz--sorry for this comparison--and we recall they were not much use. But discussions about the economic reform, environmental hazards, ageing industrial plants and fixed assets would be perfectly all right at this point. Passent is too bright a person not to see this, so he prefers to play the innocent person he is not with a view to his own arrangements and conflicts which, against the background of the dangers Poland is facing, appear as futile to us. It is further clear that I am not envisioning the "center" as any new political coalition, party, or group. Rather, I would see it as a reinvigorated and representative Consultative Commission such as that which was headed by Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski, or in another form of negotiated cooperation. Let me also point out that I am in no hurry. I believe you can serve Poland as a columnist, naturally writing from your own ideological vantage point. Usually those who do not listen early enough to good advice are in a hurry. The strongly doctrinaire Passent of today himself concedes that when it was hot in Poland he too called for a "historical compromise" and for "a coalition of unionists, communists and Catholics." But I wrote at that time that the church, with the enormous amount of experience it has from the past, will strike no historical compromises nor join any coalition, because its mission is not of this world. The church had nothing in common with that. A coalition involving the church, a trade union, and a communist party was a contradiction in terms. The church knew of other ways of performing the role of go-between and moderator during Solidarity's existence and later, under martial law. The church is not getting involved, nor will it ever get involved, in politics. Passent disagrees, because he does not want to understand that [----] [Law on the control of publications and entertainment of 31 July, 1981, article 2.1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20.99, amended in 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44.204)], and the church even today is moderating different attitudes of social groups, although somebody says imprudent things from the pulpit occasionally. But sophisticated Passent was clearly trembling several years ago, while now he once more is too self-assured. Alas, this holds not only for him, but that is a different matter.

POLITYKA, followed by Polish Radio, perpetrated the shrewd trick of publishing the Passent article along with another, written, I assume, by an aged priest, who contends that all authority comes from God and hence it must never be criticized. The worthy churchman churns out Biblical quotes like one Zygmunt Kaluzynski [PNB 161-85, 23 August 1985, p i] whom, incidentally, he defends.

The Bible should be read, but it is useful to remember there exists something called Biblical studies. To be accurate, not all authority comes from God, but only the institution of authority itself, and Jesus told people to render "what is Caesar's" not unto any specific Caesar but to the institution of government. Any other interpretation unavoidably leads to the conclusion that Adolf Hitler's authority also came from God and hence that it is wrong to criticize Hitler. The same holds for all other totalitarian or illegitimate governments in history. It would mean an endorsement of slavery, 19th-century capitalism, the subjugation and enslavement of nations, human rights violations, colonialism, or whatever is wrong in the organization of societies. Pious naivety is as bad as pious outrage or anger. POLITYKA should be ashamed of itself for resorting to such crude tricks.

Jesus told us to love everybody, including your adversaries, your enemies--"Love your enemies" [Luke 6:27]. This is not to say that Jesus tolerated evil, violence, or sin. After all, He Himself drove out the peddlers from the temple. It is difficult to love a person while also criticizing his or her mistakes. In order to be able to do this, you have got to be guided by Christian virtues. Apart from the three theological virtues--faith, hope and charity--the church also preaches the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude. The spiritual richness implicit in these virtues enables a Christian to stand up against evil with fortitude and courage, to criticize human errors, while never hating a person. If criticizing secular institutions were something reprehensible, there would be no Christian social doctrine, which by now includes a dozen or so encyclicals or other papal and synodal documents. Leo XIII criticized two mutually contradictory socio-political concepts on the ground of Christian and evangelical principles. When social criticism, as in the case of the notorious liberation theology, adopts a doctrine other than that propounded in the Scriptures, the church comes up with a warning. But if social criticism were denounced wholesale, this would be tantamount to compromising the injunction of charity and justice. I am not turned off by an aged priest, who probably had the best intentions, but I am turned off by those who exploit him. This is what POLITYKA, a weekly anxious to pass as a liberal journal, is doing. A very particular brand of liberalism, this.

I cannot reply to all polemicists, but let me say a few words to Wieslaw Rogowski of the ARGUMENTY weekly. In a perfidious text [dated 15 September, 1985] he once more raises that often-quoted church's "self-inclusion"--in its deals with the government--"into the socialist reality" of present-day Poland. I wrote a long time ago that the church included itself in the reality of Poland more than a thousand years ago, in 966 to be exact, that it has been with the Polish people throughout their history, through all the periods of Poland's division, dismemberment, and foreign occupation. So it has no need to include itself anywhere, nor will it ever do that, but it will serve Poland. That idea of "self-inclusion" was conceived by a novelist, Tadeusz Breza. Everybody can write as he pleases. The church will remain true to the nation, but it has its own ideology. "Agreements" have a history in Poland, which I have described elsewhere, and the editor of ARGUMENTY should be familiar with this, in particular with the circumstances accompanying those of 1950.

Rogowski laments politics "being included" in church ceremonies. He knows of the Episcopate's instruct-on which bans such attempts. But, like Passent, he tries not to understand where such attempts have their roots and how strongly the church is trying to temper them. Let me warn against attempts to exploit some subsidiary facts accompanying church ceremonies to forge weapons against the church at large. Such attempts would only open a new front while failing to eliminate existing ones. The church has enough experience as well as unequivocal principles of staying away from politics to allow itself to be exploited from the right or from the left. But where we are having to deal with broader social phenomena we need time, and we need to seek political solutions, at which official circles are less efficient than at issuing decrees.

The church will never abdicate its commitment to preaching evangelical truths to the world, because that would compromise its mission. But in this task it does not have all those nation-wide instruments such as a state, an administration, or a system of coercion, nor does it want any. We preach tolerance and nonbelievers' right to hold their views, as long as those instruments do not stand behind them. The charge that the church "rapaciously craves control of all areas of public life" reads truly ludicrous to me. It is simply false. The church wants neither a Christian Democratic party, nor "yellow" trade unions, nor any share in government, even though it is invited to help itself to it. Where is that clericalism, then? It turns out that even evangelization annoys Mr Rogowski.

But who minds other people countering evangelization with their own truths, if they are humane and not enforced by administrative moves? I am not going to challenge Mr Rogowski on current political issues, because he presents what is part and parcel of the establishment as evidence of liberalism. This is plainly ridiculous. So is his vow that he will see to it that I keep my promise of being present "in socialist Poland." I am present in the Poland which exists, and I have been for forty years. I have just retired, dreadfully tired of the cliches and tricks which have not changed for many years. Now and then I speak out to say what I think, if I regard this as my duty toward the public or the nation. This was precisely why I wrote my recent two articles and I am gratified that they called forth polemics, because this will help them to be remembered by readers. But I am not going to take part in discussions, which have all been held already and which convey nothing interesting any more. Remaining the staunch believer in national reconciliation I have always been, I am now interested in hard facts indicative of it, but not in words, for words, as the Sophists showed a long time ago, can be used to "prove" anything. Sapienti sat!

Postscript: Jan Rem's guess in ZYCIE WARSZAWY of 26 September, 1985, that in NIEDZIELA I articulate the church leaders' views, because I serve as adviser on social issues to the Primate, is to me a poor joke, more sad than funny. Anyway, the point is not what I propose or what I am, but what society needs.

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CSO: 2020/24

POLAND

EDITOR ON CHURCH RESPONSE TO ELECTIONS, POPIELUSZKO ANNIVERSARY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19-20 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Zdzislaw Morawski: "Is This Neutrality?"]

[Text] Not only the Polish press but journals in most countries carry commentaries on last Sunday's general election in Poland. The course of the long election campaign, the massive turnout of voters at election campaign meetings, the high and in some cases very high turnout at the polls--all these make observers (and even enemies of our system if they are at least a little realistic) say that the vote demonstrated a massive support for the national reconciliation policy. Moreover, the election also revealed that the undergrounds' influence is shrinking rapidly, despite its strong endeavors and desperate support from abroad, to get as low a turnout as possible so that it could say the boycott was a success.

There is no need for me to try to convince anyone that the situation was different. But let us look at the circumstances under which these particular returns came about in the wake of a great election campaign, which, in a sense, marked the end of Poland's political crisis.

Commenting on previous general elections in Poland, the world press pointed out the high turnout was partly due to the Roman Catholic Church's support for them, mostly articulated by the then Primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński.

But the latest returns were achieved without any "helpers to success" [retranslated], as an NBC commentator put it.

From the very beginning of the election campaign, the world press underlined the church leadership's neutrality on the matter of the election, saying the church wanted to take neither the side of those who called for active participation nor those at home and abroad who called for a boycott. As election day drew close, more and more commentators said the church's neutrality was not genuine. More and more frequently, commentators cited various moves, declarations and statements, including some made from the pulpits, to suggest the church sympathized with the advocates of a boycott.

Indeed, how should one interpret a statement the Primate's adviser Andrzej Micewski made just three days before 13 October if not as a political declaration along this line? Of the numerous comments that statement has called

forth, let me quote what the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG said on 9 October. "A close aide of the Primate of Poland told Western reporters it would be difficult to find even three Polish bishops who would go to the polls." Micewski further said, according to this daily, that "he and nine other lay catholics with close ties to the church hierarchy turned down a government proposal to run as candidates to the Sejm.... An active presence of catholics in the Sejm, said Micewski, would be frowned upon by Polish society."

This statement, which was quoted by very many media in the West, is very instructive for anyone wishing to assess the actual measure of the "neutrality" of some church circles toward the election. Neutrality was declared several times. But at the same time quite a number of priests called from their pulpits--explicitly or implicitly--for a boycott, and church leaders did not react to this at all. When one priest of the Kielce Diocese publicly expressed his different position (in POLITYKA among other journals), the Kielce Diocese Curia, referring to the canon code, instantly denounced him, rejecting his statement as incompatible with the church's teachings. The Curia's communique promptly found its way into PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, a weekly published by the Warsaw archdiocese.

That happened one week before election day. Three days before it, Micewski already knew the bishops would not go to the booths and told this urbi et orbi--to the city and to the world. The implications of that statement must be obvious to everyone. It was easy to see that radio stations would immediately transmit it to Polish listeners, especially to the clergy, who would construe it as something like an instruction or a suggestion on how to behave. The particular moment which was chosen for this statement to be published is telling, and it cannot fail to point to the underlying intention. Now, was that intention a sign of neutrality? Or was it indicative of a commitment to the idea of staying away from the polls? Was it political or nonpolitical in its implications?

I leave it to readers to answer these questions, to readers who are also well familiar with the church's frequent pledges of noncommitment to politics.

Let me also point out that Micewski said on the proposal that he should run as a candidate. What he said implied the authorities were anxious to get a representation of independent circles at the Sejm, from outside the PRON movement, although Western commentators were very fond of underlying that the authorities had no such desires. It now appears these proposals were boycotted by the people concerned.

Let us return to Micewski's statement. A short time ago, I took notice of his suggestions and remarks on possibilities for creating a platform of cooperation of believers with nonbelievers with a great deal of understanding. No one will therefore suspect me of a biased or tendentious attitude if I am now critical of one specific and probably undebatable matter or another publication of Micewski's.

If his words were quoted inaccurately, tempered with or otherwise edited, then why hasn't he publicly disavowed them? Why has nobody protested against using the Primate adviser's statement to prop up the underground's call for a boycott, if in other cases reactions have come promptly and firmly?



But now, after the election, an answer to this question is of no practical value any more. It is clear why under the circumstances outlined above a majority of the clergy did not vote, for they remembered the unmistakable suggestions coming from sources the church regards as reliable. Still, some 25 percent of all priests and 4 percent of all bishops did go to the polls, deciding not to heed those very clear suggestions from various quarters.

The first thing the election showed was that in a country in which believers constitute a majority, a vast majority of believers did go to the polls. So, this latter majority preferred to act on their own wisdom, justly assuming the church's teaching mission should not embrace political affairs.

This truth has to be recalled not only in connection with the election. The first anniversary of Fr Jerzy Popieluszko's murder is on Saturday, 19th October.

The victim was a priest. For this reason alone it is understandable that the church is remembering this anniversary and that religious ceremonies are planned to take place on this day.

Sadly, though, the atmosphere surrounding some preparations for these ceremonies and some designs of their organizers--not all of them priests--implies two things. First, artificial political undertones are to be imparted to this occasion, and hence, second, some people prefer to forget some unquestionable facts which did occur in those tragic days one year ago.

Let us recall these facts. Polish society, and also the church leadership, learned about Fr Popieluszko's abduction on 21 October, or less than 48 hours after the abduction, from a communique the authorities published through the official PAP agency. On 26 October, when it was still unclear who had been involved and Fr Popieluszko's whereabouts were still unknown, the PZPR Central Committee released a communique which was read with close attention not only in Poland but also in many countries. It said, "Socialist Poland cannot exist except as a lawful country. Subversion, provocation and terrorism always were and are now fundamentally alien to Leninist ideology, to our party's moral standards...."

"Any violation of the law is aimed at the line of socialist renewal worked out at the 9th Congress, is aimed at the entire party and its leadership, at our state and our society. It is also aimed at the process of internal stabilization, at church-state relations, at Poland's prestige in the international community.

"The Central Committee firmly repudiates and condemns all unlawful assessments and methods of action both by the authorities and by society. The Central Committee hereby formally states there will be no leniency for anarchy or terrorism in any form."

The culprits were put to trial on 27 December, or two months after the abduction and one and a half months after the body was found. All circumstances of the crime were made public before Poland and the world in the course of the

more than a month-long trial, and the accused were sentenced to between 14 and 25 years in prison. In the substantiation of the verdict, the court recognized it as an aggravating circumstance that the defendants held posts in a state agency whose statutory functions include not only the enforcement of law and public order but also the safeguarding of respect for the law.

What else could be done? Could anything have been done more speedily against that provocation which was basically aimed at the authorities? Could the investigation and the court proceedings have been even more open? These are not just rhetorical questions. As time is passing, more and more people are trying to put the blame for that crime on the entire state, or on one of its agencies, the same agency which, carrying out the state leadership's immediate decisions, uncovered and cut the ulcer, conducted an intensive investigation and supplied the court with unquestionable and clear evidence which enabled it to sentence the guilty to the very severe punishment they deserved.

On 27 October last year, ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote this with reference to the Central Committee Plenum's statement concerning the provocation, "The crime Fr Jerzy Popieluszko fell victim to has called forth an unequivocal reaction, namely outrage and condemnation. There are no differences in this between all society, the party, the government, or the church."

This was and is true. All attempts to launch a different view, implying that the real culprit is allegedly the state while the church is the true victim, is so crudely at odds with reality that even that section of Western propaganda which specializes in sowing unrest in Poland prefers not to take them up.

Sharing in the sorrow over a man slain in a foul crime, and recalling Polish society's responsible and dignified attitude during the tragic tense days of a year ago, we want to express the hope that the coming memorial ceremonies will not be abused for immoral or politically harmful ends. What I have in mind specifically is the dissemination of hatred and intolerance and the exploitation of a personal tragedy as yet another attempt to foster division among Poles at a moment when an overwhelming majority of Polish citizens went to the polls to demonstrate their desire for peace, reconciliation, dialogue and civic cooperation for the supreme interest of the country which is their common homeland.

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This is not the first time I take up the question of church-state relations, for I have been studying it for many years. I have always tried to use every opportunity to point out to readers that good church-state relations are one of our nation's supreme concerns which goes beyond differences in world outlook, and that all Poles should take a close interest in keeping these relations in good shape. As long as they are good, however difficult this may prove to be to achieve, all Poles can consider it to be their own success. Whenever these relations are jeopardized, all Poles suffer.

Alas, catholic columnists, those speaking in the name of the church, hardly ever seem to realize this truth. Nay, it does seem occasionally they want

to create the impression that they can act from a position of "strength." This tendency is harmful to the church, to believers, to all Poles.

This is why the state wants and has to act on behalf of all, to take responsibility for the integrity of the Polish people in the name of those supreme values which decide our future, our national awareness, and Poland's position in the world. This comprehensive view of Polish affairs is the foundation of our policy line, including our religious policies. This is what makes it an unchanging policy, one designed for dialogue, reconciliation and mutual understanding. It is not a matter of tactics but a matter of principle, which implies actions designed to ensure good coexistence between all classes and social groups, of believers and nonbelievers.

This particular policy line remains the same. So does the state's honest offer for further dialogue and constructive cooperation with the church, which rests on what has been accomplished in this respect during the last four decades.

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CSO: 2020/24

POLAND

# GLEMP RECEIVES HONORARY DOCTORATE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] Lublin Catholic University [KUL] ceremoniously opened its new academic year on 20 October. During the commencement ceremony, the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, was awarded an honorary doctorate. The doctorate was awarded to him at the initiative of the Theological Faculty and in recognition of his work for the church, nation and the homeland.

The commencement ceremonies were attended by members of the Episcopate and representatives of the state authorities including Minister of Science and Higher Education Benon Miskiewicz, Head of the Office for Religious Affairs Adam Lopatka, and the local authorities.

The 67-year-old KUL is one of eleven Polish universities. It is primarily oriented towards the humanities (theology, law, philosophy, the humanities, social science economics, and modern philologies). KUL has about 3,500 students. The recently expanded and modernized old building is already too small and the construction of a new one, which will be named after Pope John Paul II, will start next year. A large students residence and a building for the university library are being built.

Thanking the university for the distinction bestowed on him, the Primate pointed to the role of KUL in the socialist state. KUL should educate people for both church and public service. They should be moved to action by the love of the homeland resulting from love of one's fellow man. The teachings of the Vatican Council are the signpost for catholic thinking on the interests of the homeland. Reflection on the homeland requires independence of thought and not shouting, there is no place for reflection in a crowd, Primate Glemp stressed.

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POLAND

# MASSSES IN GERMAN THREATEN CHURCH-STATE RECONCILIATION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Piotr Adamczyk: "The Pilgrims from the FRG" published in SPRAWY I LUDZIE 8 Aug]

[Excerpts] Masses in German for the tourists from the FRG have been conducted in the Polish churches for years without any problems. However, in recent years, particularly after 1981, the German tourists began to feel increased need for prayers in Silesia. It has become fashionable among some FRG citizens to go to Poland to attend the so-called German masses.... It is in Silesia that the local authorities have begun to receive very indignant protests from the parishioners who do not appreciate Sunday masses in German and resent the tourists' conduct.

Most of the foreign visitors are former inhabitants of the Bard area. They enter homes and take pictures. They welcome with joy any remnants of German inscriptions on the walls. They take pictures. They are overjoyed when noting that a barber shop window on the Glowna Street displays exclusively advertisements in German. They take pictures.... They throw candies to children playing on the church square; they do not hand them to children, but throw them on the ground! They laugh and take pictures. One can hear the cameras rolling....

"I observed the town for a few hours," says Edward Michnik, chief of the City and Gmina Office. "It looked like a big German picnic. The most dangerous aspect of the situation is the fact that the Germans consider our city as the center of German religious practices. They consider it as such, because with the approval of the Wroclaw Curia the German masses are permanently included in the itineraries of the tourist groups from the FRG. People come to me with complaints filled with indignation, because the Germans wander through their homes bothering them. We have tried to intervene, but to no avail. The situation is bad, because these masses may spoil our cooperation with the Church."

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POLAND

# MINISTERS SHOULD NOT USURP FILM DIRECTORS' RIGHTS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Aug 85 p 8

[Article by KTT (Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz): "The Clerk Knows Best" published in POLITYKA]

[Text] KTT wrote in POLITYKA about the recommendation by the Supreme Board of Cinematography [NZK] to the Film Production Groups on making decisions to send films to production. KTT stated the following: "A Film Production Group (...) to send a film to production is obligated -- in order to win approval at the Ministry of Culture -- to furnish the NZK with a statement which ought to contain information on the anticipated production date, estimated production costs, and the name of the director. These are moderately reasonable requirements. (...) However, the newest recommendation contains additional requirement: the names of the cast for the planned film."

"(...) Let us examine the practical meaning of the newest requirement. The other ones, e.g. estimated production costs or the name of the director are needed, perhaps, in order for the NZK to deny permission to go ahead. But, why the cast? Is the NZK (or Television, because the recommendation equally concerns the films for television) going to make decisions such as: 'We believe that Ms. Szapolowska has a better physique than Ms. Figura. Therefore, we instruct you to make the necessary change'? Or: 'In our opinion, the eyes of Mr. Trzeciak have deeper and more thoughtful look than those of actor Radziwillowicz, and we instruct you to select Trzeciak for the part of the demonic intellectual.'

The world over the choice of actors has been the director's domain, because they are a part of his artistic vision, among others. Now it is the ministerial clerks who are to have such visions."

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POLAND

# FACETIOUS LOOK AT STATE SUBSIDIES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Tumialis: "Only Subsidies" published in GAZETA ROBOTNICZA 9 Aug]

[Excerpts] Ours is probably the most generous country in the world, because wherever one turns he can hear: "The state subsidizes this." A citizen can hardly leave his home without the state pulling out its wallet; whether you go to the movies, theater, a concert, or restaurant -- they are subsidized by the state.

Whether you take a streetcar or a bus, the state subsidizes your trip. When you go on vacation by train, the subsidy is very substantial, and the state contributes to the costs of food, museums you visit, the books you read, or the fish you eat on a pier.

Does it mean that in order to help the state one should stay home? Not at all! The electricity, gas, radio and television, apartment, book, record, and the heat at home -- we pay for these below their costs. So, what can the state do? It offers subsidies. It subsidizes so many commodities and services that one can only wonder where the money is coming from.

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POLAND

WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARD 'POLONIA,' STATE FIRMS VARY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Wilmanski: "Double Vision?" published in GLOS ROBOTNICZY 10 Aug]

[Excerpts] One of my friends, making 15,000 zlotys per month, took a job at a 'Polonia' firm, where his starting salary soared to 30,000 zlotys. He is very fond of the 'Polonia' firm.

Another friend of mine has just stopped working for a 'Polonia' firm. As it happened, while working on some items he was negligent and wasted a certain amount of the raw material. His employer terminated him on the spot and denied him the last pay check. The owner kept the money as his compensation for the material loss. "I would have gone bankrupt if I allowed material losses," argued the owner of the business.

My friend, who lost the job, is hurt, but he knows that this is it. He understands that the firm must make money rather than lose it. However, if it happened to him in a state enterprise, there would have been interventions, appeal boards, and labor courts involved. And likely he would have been reinstated, because bad work is not a good enough reason for a discharge.

In the case of a state firm, my friend would not have accepted the reasoning that an enterprise must make money rather than lose it.

8609/12955  
CSO: 2600/1038



POLAND

SD CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] At a meeting held on 8 October, the presidium of the Democratic Party (SD) Central Committee, the country's sociopolitical situation was discussed. It was stressed that General of the Army and chairman of Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit at the 40th Anniversary of the UN General Assembly in New York had special significance in strengthening Poland's authority and position in the world. The premier's speech at the UN had the broad support of the Polish people and was the subject of interest throughout the world. It permitted a presentation of our country's position on the most vital matters of international politics and Poland's situation in the light of these matters.

The presidium heard reports on the state of preparations for the Third Congress of Polish Science. The utterances by member-scientists of SD on the postulates contained in the theses of this congress were discussed.

The presidium also discussed matters relating to elections to the Sejm for the Ninth Assembly. We cite the declaration which was approved:

"Already in a few days, on the 13th of October, the members of the Democratic Party, in going to the voting booths, will affirm the ideas of patriotism, democracy and progress which they hold. In assessing the course of the elections campaign and in balancing the results obtained in the conferences and meetings of our party, we are convinced that those groups which are traditionally connected with the activities of our party--the intelligentsia, the craftsmen, employees in the services trades, and cooperative members--will join us in voting in the elections. We will jointly fulfill this honorable civic duty, shaping the highest authority in our state for the next four years.

In going to the voting booths, the Democratic Party will do everything to elect a "Sejm for a secure, thrifty, and law-abiding Poland," as called for in the elections declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Election of the highest authority will be a guarantee of the consolidation of our state, with strong support from citizens who know their rights and duties.

We appeal to all of those connected with our party and to all of the people to take part in this democratic act, to take advantage of their voting rights. Every citizen should decide who will rule our country during the next few years.

POLAND

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' SOCIOPOLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Oct 85 p 8

[Text] On 11 October, members of the Council of Ministers' Sociopolitical Committee visited the construction site of the National Library in Warsaw. They familiarized themselves with the state of this largest capital investment project in Poland. During a meeting with the management of the National Library and the main contractors, KBM [expansion unknown] Radom, the problems which librarians as well as builders must contend with were discussed.

The immediate problem is the lack of space, which makes the work of the central state library very difficult. The library, which has accumulated 5 million volumes, has scarcely 65 places in the reading room. There will be 1,000 places in the new library. The greatest complaint of the contractors is the shortage of cadre and problems with housing the persons working on the site.

The nature of this building project, the only one of its kind (due to which it was not suspended several years ago), now requires that the building schedule, which provides for completion in 1991, must not only be maintained but should be accelerated.

That same day, the Sociopolitical Committee discussed the "Assumptions of the Program of Cooperation with Scientific and Technical Circles and their Participation in Solving the country's socioeconomic Tasks," presented by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the Office of Scientific and Technical Progress and Applications. It was recommended that in preparing this program the involved ministries take into account the suggestions made during the elections campaign. Those attending the meeting also heard a report from the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare on the present state and future development of the blood-donor program and hemotherapy to the year 1990.

The meeting was chaired by deputy premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

Deputy premier Zenon Komender also attended.

9295  
CSO: 2600/71

POLAND

PRESS CRITICISM, CENSORSHIP EXPLORED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 34, 24 Aug 85 pp 5, 7

[Article by Bohdan Michalski: "Criticism and Legislative Activity"]

[Text] Recently there was published a precedent setting verdict of the NSA [Chief Administrative Court] relating to the problematical limits of legally permissible press criticism and the rights of censorship in relation to questions connected with the evaluation of legislative activity. The justification of the verdict considerably exceeds the subject of the dispute and constitutes an attempt at putting in order many questions connected with press criticism.

Legislative activity, both on the highest level and on the ministerial level should be under particular social control. Because each normative act is created by people, who as we know are not only fallible but also not infrequently stubborn in promoting conceptions which evoke doubts and, thanks to collective wisdom, are not infrequently rejected.

The legislative process, with the exclusion of very few special exceptions (defense), is public in our country and the drafts of normative acts are submitted to social consultation, usually through the press. It is unfortunate that this consultation refers mainly to the laws, because a broader popularization of information on work could contribute to eliminating many a piece of nonsense which later haunts a normative act.

We should also mention here another bad habit, which also is not without importance for the public evaluation of a draft or a regulation. It is the anonymity of the drafts; rarely do we know personally the team which prepared the draft, not to mention authors of more controversial solutions. This constitutes a considerable obstacle to criticism and consultations, because an abstract "ministry" appears as the author, and not a concrete team of people with names. It is then that the attempt to take shelter under a protective umbrella takes place.

Those who are preparing the drafts of normative acts most often expect from the press full applause. They try to oppose criticism as much as they can, often avoiding disputes that are to the point. At the same time, with nearly every draft of a normative act, there appear diverse pressure groups (a normal thing), which favor or oppose a defined solution in part or in full. The

temperature of the discussions sometimes is high for our conditions and usually is disclosed in discussions in the press. The task of the censor in this case is to watch that the discussion does not exceed limits permitted by law. He may only intervene to the extent permitted by the law.

### The Basic Value

Press criticism is one of the basic elements of the constitutional freedom of speech. There was an effort to emphasize this fact in the new laws. Nevertheless, the new normative shape of criticism, considerably differing from the previous model which was based to a large degree on custom, is not fully known. Therefore it is worth recalling the basic premises raised by NSA for the critical activity of the press. We should add here that the legal honesty demonstrated in this verdict points to the complexity of the problem, a complexity of which both interested parties--the critics and the criticized--are not always aware.

Guarantees with regard to freedom of speech are found mainly in article 83 paragraph 1 of the Constitution, article 1 paragraph 1 of the law on the control of publications and displays (ouk) and article 1 of the press law (pp). On the one hand, the right to freedom of speech is being declared, and on the other, appropriate guarantees are being presented; for example, the principle of expanding the existing laws and freedoms of citizens, resulting from article 67 paragraph 1 of the Constitution, and regulating article 1 paragraph 2 of the law on the control of publications which obliges, among others, the state organs to protect and assure the realization of the freedom of the press and also the concrete determination of the rights of the press and of citizens in article 1 of the press law.

Concrete normalization referring to the criticism is found in the press law. Here the NSA points to the following: the right to criticise all negative phenomena, the protection of the informant, the prohibition of opposing criticism, the responsibility for suppressing and hindering criticism, and the judicial control of decisions in press matters.

We should add here that in article 41 of the press law, criticism was recognized as a circumstance which abrogates legal responsibility, namely the so called "contre-type." It is permitted to publish negative evaluations of works and actions, as long as they are honest and in accord with the principles of coexistence and serve the realization of tasks defined in article 1 of the press law. Independently of the above, the legality of criticism also results from the fact that a physical person or another entity presenting a certain work to public adjudication (which social consultations are), in advance accepts that these evaluations can be negative and even highly unpleasant (satire).

At the same time, however, in the existing legal system, submitting an action or work to public adjudication does not signify that the criticized is deprived of any legal protection. Because he can, among other things, on the basis of article 52 paragraph 7 and 53 of the copyright law, defend his work, and in case of a need for a quick reaction, he can take advantage of the

regulations on corrections and responses, or defend his personal rights on the basis of, among other things, article 23-24 of the civil code or the regulations of the Journalists' Code of Ethics (DKO).

Protected by regulations (and customs) criticism is expressed in appropriate form and meeting definite meritorious premises.

Among these premises, the basic ones are: the goal of criticism, which is the protection of interests defined in article 1 of the press law, limiting criticism to the work or activity, the honesty of critical expression, the particular care in striving for truth, respect for personal rights of the criticized. This does not mean that criticism must be mild or in accordance with the wishes of the criticized (so called court criticism), nevertheless it must not overstep certain limits. The normalization in this regard gives full protection to criticism which is even very sharp and unpleasant to the interested party, but under the condition of remaining within the limits foreseen by the law and customs (principles of coexistence) accepted in this regard.

For this reason, in our country, every public activity or work can be subject to criticism. A draft of a normative act or a normative act in force is such a work. The press can take a stand toward each such legislative work, whether this is to the liking of a concrete ministry or group of people or not. In case of social consultations, it is obliged to take a stand.

#### Bases for Intervention

In the supplement to the NSA verdict, several observations and questions present themselves. The first one is the moment from which it can be said that a draft of a normative act has been created. A formal interpretation would show that only in the moment of ending this stage of work, in which there already exists a preliminary thesis record (and not a ready draft).[sic] It is doubtful, however, that the press must wait until that moment. It seems that every announcement of changes in regulations can be treated as a certain kind of draft and a discussion can be carried out, although in the preliminary stage far reaching moderation is advisable.

The second is the question of the obligation of informing the press on the work on the draft with regard to possible reservations. By its nature, the legislative work, even at a very preliminary stage, does not constitute a secret protected by law. Therefore, an institution obligated in light of article 4 of the press law to inform the press cannot legally discuss the giving of suitable information or access to the project (this refers also to rules relating to the measure of justice; because exclusively in article 4 paragraph 5 it refers to the dispensing of justice). On the other hand, there can arise confusion from the right of the informant, from article 14 paragraph 3, and with regard to the reserving of the time and extent of the published information. The basis for the effectiveness of such a reservation is the existence of an important personal or social interest.

In no case, however, can the giving of information in the procedure of article 4 of the press law, be subordinated to the way it is commented upon and its text submitted to the "informant's censorship," in view of a clear prohibition of such actions in article 14 paragraph 4 of the press law.

Finally, the third question is connected with whether the press can criticize "the legislative work" obtained from sources other than the interested ministry. The matter is complex; but it should be pointed out that nowhere is there a legal or ethical interdiction against the obtaining by journalists of information from official sources only. On the contrary, the legislator (article 5 of press law) creates possibilities for the obtaining of information also in other procedures. A journalist can obtain information also in an unofficial way, as long as his action does not violate the law and ethics.

The last question is the problem of the critic's right to be wrong. Considering the far-reaching objectivity of the new regulations, what is written is more important than the critic's good intentions. Therefore the NSA is right in pointing out that an author of a work that is subjectively critical, but objectively does not meet the legal premises of criticism (informational dishonesty, violating the rights of the third party, etc.), cannot demand protection due criticism. The NSA correctly emphasizes that the form of a critical work is of an objective character; it ought to be added, however, that certain minor deviations do not deprive the work of the critical character (the so called excesses of criticism article 30 of the DKO), although they constitute a violation of professional ethics. In the matter discussed, regarding the article in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, it seems that the author of the held article wrote it incorrectly to such an extent that it lost to a large degree the features of a work protected by the law. The most important thing is, however, that in its formulations it violated the regulations of article 2 of the law on censorship.

It results from the above that texts which are unfortunate, but which do not violate in a clear manner the regulations of article 2 on the control of publications, do not create a basis for detaining them.

In the law in force, there exists a mixed system of control of the text, the so called preventive-repressive system. The control can be preliminary (the censor's action within the framework of the aforementioned article 2) or consecutive, by which following the publication, persons or institutions whose interests were infringed upon, can submit the case to an appropriate court (criminal, civil, journalistic) or take advantage of the law to correction, response or other declaration foreseen by law.

In this system, the censor's activity is exceptional and refers only to cases quoted in article 2 of the law on control. It includes a group of precisely defined situations most dangerous from the point of view of the interests of society and the state. Because the control of press publications is not an "editing" of texts, or so called creative censorship, but only a counteraction to the appearance of certain contents prohibited by law. These are exceptional situations and therefore it must be especially emphasized that the NSA established the following: "Article 2 of the law on control (...) as a

regulation which is an exception from the constitutional principle of the freedom of speech and press, expanded and developed in article 1 of the above quoted law and article 1 of the law press (...) demarcating the limit which cannot be trespassed, is subject to a precise interpretation."

The above injunction points out the inappropriateness of the trend to an expanded studying of certain elements of a statement, which although perhaps inappropriate, nevertheless do not exceed the limits defined by article 2 of the law on control and can possibly constitute a base for actions called repressive control, on the side of the interested party.

Even the Harshest

In view of this, the NSA pointed out, in the case which point 1 (article 2) of the law on censorship "(...) the security of the state as the basis for intervention is invoked, to the necessity of a precise demonstration of exactly what the "danger" is. The matter is important because after the novelization of the law on censorship of publications and shows in 1983, the precision of formulations of the extent to which censorship is allowed to intervene (article 2) underwent a considerable decrease and, as the NSA notes, "the conceptual extent of the hypothesis of the particular legal norms included in points 1 through 10, frequently is partly covered," which does not facilitate the work of the censors.

Although the concept of "security of the state" is an undefined category, it is not so abstract that it could not be arbitrarily and subjectively invoked as a basis for intervention; the NSA points out that it must apply to the state as a whole and constitute a real threat or demonstrate a high degree of probability of such a threat. On the other hand, this concept cannot be applied to matters that are local or individual and situations where the threat is only of hypothetical character.

It is necessary to turn attention to these matter because the basis for intervention and for holding disputed material "which contains journalistic criticism of the proposed changes in the penal law" was a statement that this text, in the opinion of the GUKPiW [Main Office for the Control of Publishing and Public Performances] could: "have a hindering impact on the further process of legislative work," which threatened the security of the state. It should also be pointed out that in the justification of the GUKPiW it was stressed that the held publication "can influence social opinion against the proposals for legislative changes."

This stand was determinedly rejected by the NSA which pointed out that social consultation, which is a form of the realization of democracy, is such that even very critical opinions can be expressed regarding legislative drafts submitted to social adjudication. (It should be added that in accordance with article 2 of the press law they can represent different stands.)

The draft of the normative act is submitted to social evaluation without any preliminary conditions. The press can therefore support the draft, suggest amendments, and support its complete rejection. Even clearly taking a stand

against drafts of certain normative acts is a normal element of every discussion and does not constitute a violation of any regulation if it does not overstep the limits of allowed legal criticism. (Such an overstepping of bounds could be, for example, the giving of false data or violating the personal rights of the authors of the project.) Even certain errors of fact or interpretation cannot disqualify such a text from being published, because a possibility of polemic, correction, or answer can be used here. Because many projects come under the legislative rubric--especially in the prefatory stage--and are prepared in such a manner that is far removed from being correct and clear.

For this reason the submitting of the draft of a normative act to social consultation cannot determine by its action whether the draft will be evaluated negatively or even rejected. Otherwise it would not be a real but a simulated consultation. Possible attempts at "steering" the discussion in the form of prohibitions or orders, independently of the intention of those who inspire the legislation, are a certain form of extra legal limiting of criticism. The press, in any case, within the framework of its rights (article 1 of the press law) has a full right to criticism of the normative act in force. What cannot be instigated, however, is failure to observe the law (*dura lex sed lex*). On the other hand, criticism (article 1) can never be considered as counteracting law in the understanding of article 282 of the penal code, even when harshest and when it proposes that a normative act be removed or changed.

This criticism, like in the case of the evaluation of the normative acts submitted to social consultation, can present diverse and even contradictory views and evaluations--something that is normal.

Nevertheless this refers to criticism and not to various, not always fully elaborated hazy formulations. No one is born a journalist, journalism is a profession that one has to learn continuously, and criticism is not a simple form of expression. Therefore it was a good thing that the NSA came forward with help in this socially important field of press criticism of normative acts and their drafts. The NSA statement, of course, does not solve the whole of the problems, because it is practically impossible. Nevertheless, it is an important step forward in this regard.

12270

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POLAND

JPRS-EPS-85-117  
22 November 1985

# UNEQUAL TREATMENT IN SENTENCING ANNOUNCEMENTS CRITICIZED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Aug 85 p 8

[Article by "M:" "Make It Clear!" published in PRAWO I ZYCIE]

[Excerpts] A review of decisions by the courts and offense boards with regard to application of an additional punishment in the form of a public announcements (...) shows a total lack of standards. Consequently, some announcements contain detailed home addresses of the lawbreakers (while others do not have such information) and even the names of the victims of crime -- which is even worse and cannot be tolerated.

A question arises whether the offense boards apply the additional punishment in a wise manner and give it proper consideration. The wordings of the sentence announcements reveal total chaos and confusion in this matter; that is, in many cases the need to announce the fact of punishment in the press appears to be questionable indeed. The courts are less guilty in this respect, but even their practices raise doubts and point to confusion.

It seems, then, that it is time for the Supreme Court to issue guidelines which would define clearly and unequivocally the criteria for the application of additional punishment in the form of a public announcement along with requirements that such an announcement would have to meet (spelled out conditions for making public the lawbreaker's home address and absolute prohibition of publication of the victim's name). In the case of the offense boards, such guidelines ought to be issued by their supervisory organization. (...) For at present one can hardly point to a uniform and justified practice.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

MICHALEK MEETS VOLUNTEER YOUTH--Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary, met yesterday with a group of 170 youth who are employed at the HORTEX enterprise in Przysusze, Radomsko voivodship, under the auspices of the Volunteer Youth Labor Brigades [OHP]. This was the second OHP camp visited by Michalek; his first visit was in Plonsk. The youth acquainted him with their working and leisure time conditions. They spoke well about the organizers of this form of vacation. Michalek also familiarized himself with the HORTEX operation in Przysusze as well as with its production, investment problems, and plans for the future. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Aug 85 p 2] 8609/12955

POREBSKI, PZPR LECTURERS ON CAMPAIGN TALKS--The lecturers of the PZPR Central Committee met yesterday with Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, to discuss the goals and the tasks of the political and propaganda campaign in view of the scheduled elections to the Sejm. He emphasized that the elections to the Sejm would take place in the conditions of continuing socialist renewal which has brought basic changes in the development of socialist democracy; the 9th Party Congress had strongly emphasized the duty of the party to continue developing the notion of people's rule. This is a permanent direction of our activity, which -- as Porebski stated -- the party organizations and echelons continue to follow. The most important propaganda tasks of the election campaign were presented by Bogdan Jachacz, director, PZPR Central Committee Press, Radio, and Television Department, while various aspects of the national socio-economic development policy were discussed by Franciszek Kubiczek, first deputy chairman, Council of Ministers Planning Commission. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Aug 85 p 2] 8609/12955

JELENIA GORA DEFENSE COMMITTEE--Yesterday the Voivodship Defense Committee in Jelenia Gora held its regular meeting. It was devoted to the discussion of the implementation of the bill on sobriety education and combatting alcoholism. The participants noted that not all of the enterprises in the region follow the law. This has a significant impact on the maintaining of labor discipline and, consequently, on the production output as well. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Aug 85 p 2] 8609/12955

PARTY SECRETARIES TALK ELECTION STRATEGIES--The main goal and most important task in party activity is to assure efficient course of the pre-election

campaign and of the coming up elections to the Sejm. The PZPR members actively participate in the consultative meetings of citizens and they surround themselves with all social forces in favor of national accord and renewal. The party tasks -- particularly as they relate to the election campaign -- were discussed yesterday at a special joint meeting of the secretaries of the basic party units, political workers, and members of the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Przemysl. The meeting was attended by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, deputy Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Aug 85 p 2] 8609/12955

ZSL REGIONAL COMMITTEES MEET--Yesterday in Warsaw there was a meeting of the ZSL Voivodship Committee presidiums members responsible for organizational matters, and of directors of the economic-agricultural departments in the said committees. It was devoted to a review of the realization of the ZSL tasks in the election campaign and discussion of the current socio-economic problems in the country. The socio-economic situation in the country with particular emphasis on agriculture, food economy, and the results of the last harvest was presented by Jozef Koziol, deputy chairman, Council of Ministers Planning Commission and the chairperson of the said meeting. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Aug 85 p 2] 8609/12955

CULTURAL 'AKTIVS' ON YOUTH--The "Osak-85" symposium of the cultural 'aktiv' has convened at the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] center in Augustow-Borki. This year the topic is: "Film in Upbringing and Education of Youth." On 18 August Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary, met at the center with the participants. During his discussion with the young teachers much time was devoted to the draft of the bill on youth. A question was asked whether we can really afford establishing of guarantees for the youth rights. Suggestions were made that the said bill include well defined tasks and obligations of the youth toward the state and society as well. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 85 p 5] 8609/12955

RAKOWSKI TALK IN PERUVIAN PARTY PRESS--UNIDAD, organ of the Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee, published an interview with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, deputy prime minister on various aspects of the internal situation in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 85 p 7] 8609/12955

PROVINCIAL PROPAGANDA SECRETARIES MEET--Proaganda secretaries of the party voivodship committees met on 16 August. The meeting was attended by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, and by Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, along with the editors-in-chief of the provincial weekly press. Key problems requiring increased activity of the means of the mass information were presented by Jerzy Majka, Bronislaw Ratus, and Bogdan Jachacz, all department directors at the PZPR Central Committee, and by Witold Gadowski, Janusz Janicki, Edward Kuczera, and Czeslaw Rowinski, all deputy department directors at the PZPR Central Committee. After a discussion, the meeting was summed up by Glowczyk. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Aug 85 p 2] 8609/12955

CC, EDITORS DISCUSS PARTY PROPAGANDA--On 19 August a meeting of the editors-in-chief of the central and provincial press, radio and television agencies convened at the PZPR Central Committee. Current problems in the party propaganda activities were presented by Central Committee department directors Bogdan Jachacz and Jerzy Majka, and by the Central Committee deputy department directors: Witold Gadomski, Edward Kuczera, and Czeslaw Rowinski. After a discussion the meeting was summed up by Jan Glowczyk, deputy Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Aug 85 p 2] 8609/12955

RECENT PROSECUTOR GENERAL ACTIVITIES--On 19 August the Prosecutor General Council discussed submitted information on the cooperation of the Prosecutor General's Office with the organs of the Workers-Peasants Inspection [IRCh]. The participation of prosecutors in organizing and developing activities of the IRCh met with approval and a decision was made to continue and to perfect such activities. Furthermore, it was noted that the results of the IRCh control activities ought to be the basis for actions taken by the prosecution within the framework of criminal procedure, or control that the law is observed, or preventive activity. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Aug 85 p 2] 8609/12955

NEW REGULATIONS SUMMARIZED--Council of Ministers' decrees in the following matters were published in DZIENNIK USTAW (Legal Gazette) No 43, dated 16 September 1985: The organization, principles and procedures of the Social Security Board's supervisory councils; the rules for clearing money accounts in institutions falling into the public sector; interministerial cooperation in vocational training; the conduct and maintenance of schools and other centers outside the people's council system; rental charges on residential and utility premises. Also included are two decrees from the ministers of internal affairs and foreign affairs: the first pertains to rules and procedures and jurisdiction of organs in passport matters, and the second deals with forms of passports and travel documents. A Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs decree specifies methods of establishing an index of salary growth exempt from charges to the PFAZ (State Vocational Activation Fund) in 1985 for certain economic institutions. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 6] 9295

CSO: 2600/1038

YUGOSLAVIA

WRITER ACCUSED OF MEETING CHETNIKS DURING CANADA VISIT

Momo Kapor's Activities Described

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6, 13 Oct 85

[Article by Salih Zvizdic: "Our Writer Attends a Chetnik Picnic"]

[6 Oct 85 p 4]

[Text] Travel is said to speed life up and to enrich it with stimulation. That is why people always long to be on the move. Some people travel in order to get to know unfamiliar landscapes, cities and cultural monuments, others to buy something and resell it, still others in order to experience something unusual or at least new....

It seems that Momo Kapor, writer and painter and successful author of light-weight novels, travels mostly to engage in clearing up the ideas of a creativity liberated from the influence of any ideology and to do so in the wide expanses of the world. To be specific, he has recently done this in a very great preoccupation with reflections on the matter and has come to the conclusion that "the writer must not be an ideologue."

Although he has been publishing these reflections of his in the newspapers, he has not really managed to shock anyone. Try as they might, people do not find anything earthshaking in that. Fine, in addition to the job which he does in his study, the writer may also be a fisherman, mountain climber, gentleman farmer, ladies' man, musician and soccer fan. He may engage in all these things at once, and his creativity will not suffer if he fails to become involved with any sort of ideology. Fair enough, people conclude.

No one, absolutely no one, even dreams of advocating instilling ideology into Momo Kapor's novels or keeping it out of them. But that indifference makes him terribly angry. Here he is starting a discussion about such important questions of esthetics and democracy, and yet the people around him are not ruffled in the least. They are drinking beer and wolfing down their mixed grill with the sounds of newly composed music in the background. Well, of course. Who here has any idea about what he is actually talking about? Screw a country in which a sign in the bars reads: "No pinching the singer!"

## The Mud of an Association

Like all those who are misunderstood, disappointed and embittered, Momo Kapor craves to glean some applause. He even traveled as far as Canada and gave a lecture and attended a picnic in his honor.

There is a photograph which makes it all clear enough. It shows our author of lightweight novels, newly turned theoretician of esthetics, in the company of some people who really are ideologues. With Momo, that is, are Bora Dragasevic, ideologue and organizer who brings the Chetniks together in Canada, and president of the organization "Srpska Narodna Odbrana" [Serbian People's Defense] (its Canadian branch), which is headed by the priest Momcilo Djujic, the well-known perpetrator of atrocities in the Knin District. Then there are Djordje Radonic, who holds a staff position in the Canadian Chetnik movement, and then Zivko Apic, an eminent nationalist and collaborator of that movement in Canada and the United States. It was his job to escort Kapor around Canada.

The writer who evokes tender love in the pages of his novels has obviously allowed himself to get involved in the roughest game one can imagine. He has proclaimed his flight and aloofness from any ideology, but there are some ideologists which do not bother him at all. Recently, as we have already said, he has been insistently portraying himself as a man preoccupied with questions of pure esthetics, but those he has found to talk to and the public he has found are people who even today have nothing in their heads or thoughts but that bloody time when the "king's army in the homeland" was fighting with knives, bullets and clubs "for a Yugoslavia which would be made up of pure Serbs, even if they numbered no more than 100."

## The "Academy" of Hatred

The cameras shot pictures and thus preserved for history the columns of those bearded specters led by the priest Momcilo Djujic and other "generals" of his stripe. Butchers who sang as they marched. Rest easy, young eagle, Peter II Mrkonjic....

Out of a desire to guarantee a calm sleep for their royal eagle in London, those columns beat people with stakes and in that way "restored them to the faith of their ancestors." Those specters did a dance around the slaughtered victims, they drove hundreds and hundreds of families into their houses, then doused those houses with gasoline and set fire to them. Thus in January 1943 the entire impoverished place of Bihor was turned into a horrifying torch. So that their eagle could sleep well, those specters cut off the breasts of young women and fried them in the fire before their eyes. That was the torture suffered by the heroine Dragica Pravica.

Surely there is no need to go any further with an enumeration of the horrors committed by those with whom Momo Kapor is today discussing esthetics. Can he not even be aware of what he has gotten himself into? The Devil knows what has happened to him. Perhaps he has already become such an egocentric that he no longer cares at all who he talks to. All he cares is for someone to listen to what he is saying, since that is the way a narcissistic man likes to talk to himself best.

But those hosts of his had reason even to be enthusiastic about what he had to say at the "Serbian National Academy." Let us be clear at once: this is not, of course, any sort of scientific institution, but a meeting place for those who even today wear their fur hats and probably are still waiting for Draza to send them a message from up in Heaven. The main purpose of this self-styled academy is to sow enmity among our nationalities, to distort the revolutionary past and present of Yugoslavia, that is, it is in all respects a carbon copy of the Ustasha "Croatian Academy" in the United States.

In this "Serbian National Academy," which, according to the weekly of Yugoslav emigres NASE NOVINE, "was established in order to establish ties and cooperation with Serbian writers dissatisfied with the communist government in Yugoslavia and to make their works known among Serbian nationalists," Momo Kapor's talk was, of course, welcomed with great applause.

How could it be otherwise when it is clearly evident from his presentation that he is opposed to all ideologies, but most of all against that ideology on which present-day Yugoslavia has been built, that he is against everything which makes up its system. Minor stylistic camouflage notwithstanding, it was also clear that he was coming against equality, brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. That is what NASE NOVINE wrote in its issue of 22 August 1985. We have no reason whatsoever not to believe it, since it has countless times confirmed its consistency in condemning the criminal insanity of chauvinists who make a lot of noise, whether they be Chetniks, Ustashas or of whatever other origin.

#### Chewing Gum

The writer who likes to pose for photographers in a sweater and blue jeans chewing gum delivered a talk in which he spit on his own country and could not but be rewarded for that by applause and flattering words from the president of the "academy" Nikola Pasic. So after this lecturing effort of the "anti-ideologue" Momo Kapor, his hosts took pains to give him the pleasure of a little entertainment.

That is how he came to be in Niagara Falls attending a Chetnik picnic which for all the world was like a village gathering. There was suckling pig and young beef to eat, there was singing and toasts were drunk. The account did not say whether anyone led the kolo, whether they danced the "kukunjes" or the "six-step." But it did say that there were long speeches. The principal one was delivered by Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, the namesake and grandson of the well-known figure on the political scene of the bloody Balkans in the past.

We certainly should mention that it never occurred to Momo Kapor to appear at the celebration of our emigres which was held on the same day as the Chetnik picnic. He simply did not have the time. Zivko Apic prepared a very heavy schedule for him, and he took him all over Canada. The newspaper NASE NOVINE has this to say about all of that:

"So, again messiahs come to our continent to appeal to us in the name of their talents to get on the right road, and for those who are in the reactionary

organizations to stay in 'on the right road.' A long time ago, during the last war, Ducic, the 'great Serbian poet,' whom Momo Kapor recommended in passing, wandered about among the Yugoslav emigres, but, like many people in Yugoslavia, he forgot to mention that Jovan Ducic was a Serbian fascist through and through and that he was against the ideology taken up by Cedo Kapor, Momo's uncle."

Yes, that is how things look when they are examined soberly and responsibly from the Canadian end. It truly is impossible to say how Kapor sees them and experiences them. The only thing that is obvious and evident is that the confusion in his head is not insignificant at all when with absolutely no provocation and of his own free will he sinks down into the mud and cretinism of associating with followers of the bearded specters.

[13 Oct 85 p 6]

GLAS KANADSKIH SRBA, the periodical of "Serbian National Defense," the Chetnik organization of the priest Momcilo Djujic, whose Canadian branch is headed by his "brother" Bora Dragasevic (who is at the same time the editor of that newspaper and the host of the Chetnik hour-long radio program "Sumadija" on Radio Toronto), carried two interesting large advertisements on 26 September of this year.

The first advertisement was addressed to the Chetnik membership "Invitation to the 43d Congress of the SNO [Serbian People's Defense], to be held on Saturday and Sunday, 5 and 6 October, in the Chetnik home of General Draza Mihailovic on Glover Road in Winona, near Hamilton." That same issue, whose other material along the line of Chetnik ideology included an article with high praise for Draza Mihailovic, also carried another advertisement which is especially fascinating. That second advertisement, which was printed above the attribution "Headquarters of the Serbian National Defense in Canada," called upon "the entire Serbian community" to participate in the "Saint Sava celebration of the Serbian National Academy to be held at 1930 hours on 12 October in Toronto." The topic of the lectures in this case is not very important, although the Chetniks cover it with a broad umbrella of praise after the style of "linking the church and the nationality," but it is interesting that the principal participants on that program were guests from our country: a film or stage director, a writer (not Kapor, editor's note) and an instrumental quartet.

Are these two advertisements and the paper in which they were published not sufficient evidence of the ties between the Serbian National Academy and the notorious Chetnik organization Serbian National Defense?!

#### "Scientific Academy"

The role of the Serbian National Academy in the Chetnik, and above all anti-Tito and anti-Yugoslav, movement is very transparent and well known. Although formally without Chetnik sponsorship it does not come out against Tito's Yugoslavia, this "academy," behind the cover of a "scientific institution," operates quite clearly from anticommunist positions as a nationalistic and Chetnik organization through and through.



One of the forms of its activity is to select and invite from Yugoslavia writers and other artists to visit Canada. All of those invited, if they do not know who is inviting them and why, ought to inform themselves about where they are going. To justify themselves by saying that "they do not belong to any ideology whatsoever" and that they are "bothered by any ideology whatsoever," may be a poor excuse, since the very appearance on the platform of that "academy" is enough to inform one that a particular ideology is involved here.

One older writer from our country, who read selections from his works at the "academy," did not attack Yugoslavia, but the Chetniks promoted him (of course, "without his knowledge") as a "former communist and writer against communism" and in favor of national Serbism." Incidentally, the "academy" spent \$16,000 for traveling and other expenses for the group of visitors on 12 October. No one, not even the "academy," shells out money for nothing.

Bora Dragasevic, "Canada's leading Chetnik," is a distinguished member of that "academy," but he does not appear anywhere in public, since the ideologues of that "academy" keep him apart so as not to compromise their "ideological neutrality." Another obvious need for that external form is so that they would not close the doors to visits by those who think like them in this country.

The president of the "academy," Nikola Pasic, is a member of "Amnesty International" and a man who is "politically" outside ideological movements, but is "interested in the dissenters in Yugoslavia and in the freedoms of creativity and individualism in Yugoslavia." He is not free to come to Yugoslavia, but visits are occasionally made by his "right-hand man," Sofija Skoric, who through an embassy in Belgrade even acts as a kind of intermediary within the framework of "cultural relations and the nurturing of ethnic traditions between the Serbs in Yugoslavia and the Serbs in Canada."

There is, of course, a great deal more that could be said about the anticommunist and anti-Yugoslav role of the Serbian National Academy and about the "lectures" that have been given there during the 3 years of that institution's operation.

#### The Chetnik Picnic

The Chetnik picnic in Niagara Falls was held on 28 June, Saint Vitus' Day. This was a particularly solemn occasion because of the 40th anniversary of the time the Canadian Serbs have been away from the homeland. That was the reason for inviting to the picnic the "heir to the throne Aleksandar II Karadjordjevic" (the son of Petar Karadjordjevic), who in his speech paid deep respect "to the heroes who died for the cross of honor and golden freedom." According to an article in GLAS KANADSKIH SRBA, which published a long account of that picnic with many pictures, it seems the "heir to the throne" was joined at the picnic by the other invited guests: "president of the organization 'Serbian Chetniks in Australia,' brother Boza Dragisic," "brother Tosa Klisuric, vice-president of the 'Ravna Gora' Chetnik association" and "Boro Dragasevic, president of the Canadian branch of the Serbian People's Defense," and then numerous other officials of Chetnik organizations in America, Australia and Europe. The folklore part of the program was performed by the folk groups "King Peter II" and "White Eagles."

There was also another name for this Chetnik picnic. They referred to it as "Canadian Serb Day" or still more frequently "Serbian Day," which is a carbon copy of the "Croatian," "Macedonian" and other "days" along the same lines which serve as a screen for the rabid emigre, anticommunist and anti-Yugoslav organizations. They use these names to give the movement and the organization greater breadth, extending "throughout the entire nationality."

Branko Samac, the pride of Canadian Chetniks, delivered a fiery speech at the picnic in honor of the "heir to the throne" and ended it with the hope "God grant that we shall celebrate Serbian Day and Saint Vitus' Day in our capital." Although it was clear to everyone who was present there what kind of Chetnik event this was, since for one thing the event had been announced for almost 2 months by GLAS KANADSKI SRBA and the hour-long Chetnik radio program "Sumadija" on Radio Toronto, it cannot be said for certain that this gathering was not attended also by a small number of neutral observers from the ranks of the emigres, not only Serbs, but other nationalities as well. Had it been a different type of event, it certainly would have been attended by diplomatic and consular representatives of our country. It is a fact that they do not attend this event or events like it. In the picture published in the newspaper GLAS KANADSKI SRBA one sees the "heir to the throne" in the company of the pride of the Chetniks, among them "brother Boro Dragasevic," who on that same "Serb Day" was also photographed in the company of Momo Kapor.

#### A Strange Guest at the Wedding

Zivko Apic was granted political asylum in West Germany, and from there he went as a "political" to Canada. Even in Windsor, where he first started out, he had close ties with the Serbian People's Defense (he even played on their soccer team), but today in Toronto he is included in the "intellectual segment of the Serbian People's Defense."

He owns two small bookstores, "Yugoslavica" and "Croatica" in Toronto, and in them he sells books from Yugoslavia to individuals and libraries all over America, among which, let it be said in passing, the dominant ones are those of writers selected according to the criterion of the Serbian National Academy. But still he also sells in his bookstores books against Yugoslavia which are printed in Canada and elsewhere. These latter books constitute two-thirds of the stock. He is also a representative of Djilas' newspaper SLOBODNA REC in London.

Zivko Apic has come to Yugoslavia on several occasions and purchased books from certain publishers. In so doing he made two visits to Djilas, with whom he conducted negotiations to publish all his writings in Canada. He was unsuccessful in those negotiations, since Djilas obviously was not interested in such an "established" publisher. As a man who "maintains ties with artists in the homeland," Zivko Apic is usually the one to arrange those meetings and to finance them with the money of the Serbian National Academy.

Selling books from Yugoslavia to our numerous emigres in Canada is a rather lucrative business, and it is carried on even by those who have nothing good to say about Tito's Yugoslavia. In Windsor, for example, such books are also

sold by Radan Grujicic, who was a Nedic policeman and one of the chiefs of the ill-famed Banjica camp outside Belgrade, who is on the list of war criminals in Yugoslavia. Enough said about some of the people who among other things sell the books of our publishing houses.

#### A List of Emigres

The newspaper NASE NOVINE has been published in America for 54 years now as a periodical of the "Yugoslav emigres and their descendants on the North American continent." This weekly, whose articles are published in the ekavian and ijekavian dialects, in Slovenian and Macedonian, nurtures brotherhood and unity among our emigres in Canada and in America in general, and it promotes cooperation and friendly relations between Tito's Yugoslavia and Canada. It collaborates with the cultural and literary societies of the emigres of our nationalities, and in its columns it has welcomed with respect all of our numerous artists who have visited Canada but who have bypassed the Chetnik, Ustasha, White Guard, Irredentist Albanian and similar hostile emigre organizations.

On 18 July of this year NASE NOVINE published an article by Katarina Kostic, a staff writer who handles cultural affairs for the newspaper, in which she recalled among other things that in 1978 an interview with Momo Kapor had been published in the paper. Referring to that, she wrote: "... Momo Kapor has now forgotten that. He has also forgotten that we the new emigres are the most reliable readers of his novels. In his speech in Toronto he was addressing some other audience, he was speaking for some other people. He has now become foreign and unwelcome to us. He has shocked us and he has aroused our anger, an anger that has destroyed our trust in him. He has betrayed us. And he has also betrayed himself."

#### Kapor Responds to Accusations

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13-Oct 85 p 6

[Letter by Momo Kapor in response to the articles by Salih Zvizdic: "I Do Not Recognize the People in the Photograph"]

[Text] An article by Salih Zvizdic entitled "Our Writer Attends a Chetnik Picnic," subtitled "What Drove Momo Kapor To Discuss Esthetics With Butchers?" was published in NEDELJNI VJESNIK on 6 October 1985.

This article, which is full of slander and falsehood, consists of Zvizdic's crude and malicious restatement of an editorial from the emigre newspaper NASE NOVINE, which is published in Toronto, Canada, as the periodical of a group of Canadian citizens I do not know.

The truth is as follows:

During the recent exhibition of my pictures in New York (Springs Space Gallery) I was invited to hold two literary evenings in Toronto, which I accepted as an obligation to my numerous and unknown readers in this far-off country.

The first evening took place in a Yugoslav bookstore, the only one on the North American continent, which is called "Yugoslavica" and has a department known as "Croatica." (Publishing House-Import-Export. Keagan Crescent Downsview MJ 1G1, Ontario, Canada) This bookstore is owned by Zivko Apic, who is also a librarian at the University of Toronto, who for many years has collaborated with the largest publishing houses in Yugoslavia, who have awarded him a number of certificates and diplomas as a man who has done a great deal for Yugoslav literature on the continent of North America. Zivko Apic is not a Chetnik butcher at all, since for years now he has been coming to his old homeland to attend the International Book Fair in Belgrade. As for the literary evening itself, I read short stories from the collection "OFF," published in Zagreb, 1983.

Zivko Apic did not "take me all over Canada," as Zvizdic writes, but I traveled alone, which is the way I usually travel around the world.

The second literary evening was held 3 days later at the Serbian National Academy, which, as far as I know, is a manifestly cultural institution visited before me by a number of well-known writers and artists from Yugoslavia, Canada and the United States. Mrs Sofija Skoric, who is the secretary of that institution and my hostess that evening, has fostered long years of collaboration with Yugoslav scientific institutions and regularly visits her former country, where her parents live even today. In the overflowing auditorium at the University of Toronto where my literary evening was held I did not notice anyone in the audience whose "fur cap shook on his head," as Salih Zvizdic describes it, nor a single beard, nor anyone with a knife in his teeth. To be sure, I did notice a fair number of Croats and Muslims, readers of mine in Canada for whom I signed copies of my books for more than an hour at the end.

On that evening I read a fragment from my last novel "Knjiga Zalbi" [Book of Complaints], which, like my other books, was published in Zagreb in 1984 (publisher: Nakladni Zavod "Znanje"). Afterward, I answered questions from the audience, often very unpleasant ones, since the organizers of this discussion cannot under Canadian law prevent anyone from attending their meetings or ask them what their purpose is, although before the program began both the guest and those present were explicitly cautioned that the discussion was not political in nature and that discussions of that kind were out-of-place. What I had to say was taped, so that it can be easily established that I did not say a single word to be ashamed of. Under Canadian law it is also impossible to prevent what a speaker says from being videotaped or filmed, and one also lacks control over the kind of interpretation that will be given in some periodical.

I notified in advance the diplomatic representatives of my country in Canada concerning my appearances. I did not have the honor to become acquainted with them on either of the evenings.

Salih Zvizdic accuses me of having taken part in some "Chetnik picnic," which was arranged in my honor, which is an out-and-out fabrication and lie which unfortunately has been taken up by other Yugoslav newspapers as well.

The alleged "picnic" was held 4 days earlier at Niagara Falls; it is not referred to as a "Chetnik picnic" at all, but as Canadian Serb Day, just as similar emigre celebrations are held throughout the world where our people live, and they are referred to as Croat, Macedonian, Albanian, and so on, days, something in which I see nothing strange nor hostile. Canadian Serb Day has for years been traditionally held on 28 June, Saint Vitus' Day. Salih Zvizdic has insulted not only me, but about 10,000 decent emigres of Serbian nationality who came to Niagara Falls from all parts of that beautiful country. I would truly be concerned about the fate of my homeland if so many thousand honest people, workers, lumberjacks, miners, farmers, artisans and intellectuals were nurturing any sort of hostile intentions toward Yugoslavia, where parts of their families, their nearest relatives and friends are living.

To equate every Serb who was at Niagara Falls that hot summer day with butchers and with the small handful of militant emigres is a pure act of chauvinism which I find disgusting.

As the author of 15 novels, books of short stories and travel books, and as the author of several pieces about our emigres in the United States and Canada, I feel that I have the right to visit any place on the globe, to talk with anyone about anything and to gather material for my new book about emigres and the emigre community--about that great topic of migration. Depriving me of that right is to deprive me of the rights of my writer's trade. There is not much that one can learn about the emigre community from second-grade textbooks in elementary school or from Zvizdic's articles of this kind. One has to get to know people on the spot, their tragic destinies, one has to hear their stories and familiarize himself with their way of life--everything that goes into making literature, at least the kind of "lightweight" literature that mine is.

It is true that Canadian Serb Day at Niagara Falls was also attended by one Aleksandar Karadjordjevic II, whom unfortunately I did not meet, nor did I talk with him, which really would have been interesting for me.

I delivered no speech whatsoever at Canadian Serb Day, I was not on the program, nor anything of the kind, nor did anyone invite me to do so.

During Canadian Serb Day at Niagara Falls I was photographed with several hundred countrymen abroad (at their request), as is usually done on such occasions. I do not recognize the men in the photograph which Salih Zvizdic has published, nor do I know what their concerns are except for Zivko Apic. Incidentally, if a researcher is photographed with a cannibal from Borneo, that does not mean that he is a cannibal, but is a valuable document and proof that he has actually been there. Are we to reproach the Partizan generals for having been photographed with German officers during negotiations? The late Ivo Andric for having been photographed with the highest leaders of the Third Reich? Krleza because he had to talk with the Leader? I can only envy them the opportunity which was offered them, since once again that is the writer's trade.

Nor did I have occasion at that meeting of being introduced to any diplomatic representative of my country. I was alone. In any case, I am not afraid of anything where my profession is involved.

Salih Zvizdic has delivered me a lecture based on the outrages and horrors of World War II and blames me for the victims. I could confront him with numerous corpses in my immediate family, but I consider it dishonorable to do so through the newspapers.

NASE NOVINE, which is published in Toronto as a periodical of a group of emigre citizens, probably has some unsettled accounts with my countrymen abroad, which is a matter I will not go into. It is not at all a periodical whose opinion requires me to display the awe which Salih Zvizdic expresses in his slanderous, loathesome and chauvinistic second-hand account.

I intend to sue Salih Zvizdic, whom I do not know personally, through the regular channels of the court for the most serious slander, lies, fabrications and damage inflicted upon my literary and private reputation.

All I know about Salih Zvizdic is that he is about 60 years old. A man of that age had the opportunity to catch some real Chetnik back 40 years ago, instead of chasing me around Canada.

Respectfully,

Momo Kapor, writer

7045

CSO: 2800/26

YUGOSLAVIA

# LCY CC VIEWS ON DEVELOPING ECONOMIC RELATIONS ABROAD

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 85 pp 16-17

[Views adopted by the LCY Central Committee in its 20th meeting, held 25 September 1985: "Views of the LCY Central Committee on Political-Ideological Issues Related to Further Development of the System and Policy of Foreign Economic Relations, the Foreign Exchange System and Policy in Particular"]

[Text] At its 20th meeting (25 September 1985) the LCY Central Committee discussed political-ideological issues related to future development of the system and policy of foreign economic relations, especially the foreign exchange system and policy. In so doing the Central Committee took as its point of departure the widely expressed need to build a unified political-ideological basis for policy in this area.

The Central Committee noted that in the broad debate conducted in recent months concerning the proposed legislative solutions in the field of foreign economic relations the view has been confirmed once again that more comprehensive and effective inclusion of our economy in the international division of labor and a stable and steady growth of production for export and of exports within that framework constitute our permanent orientation. At the same time the Central Committee notes that this orientation has still not been altogether accepted in society and that its implementation should be fought for through further action of the subjective forces.

This is one of the principal conditions for intensive, dynamic and harmonious socioeconomic development in the future. Fulfillment of this strategic commitment depends directly on consistent realization of the entirety of the goals and tasks set by the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program in the economic system and in the country's development policy and economic policy and thus on freeing our economy for optimum conduct of economic activity on the basis of world criteria of productivity and business efficiency. This is also a condition for implementing the policy of normalizing the country's external liquidity, which has been adopted by the SFRY Assembly. That is why increasing production for export and especially the inflow of foreign exchange from the convertible area, is an essential precondition in the immediate future for strengthening the country's external liquidity and its position in international trade, so that all other tasks and needs must be subordinated to that.

These commitments have also been confirmed in the views of the Action Conference on Tasks of Communists in the Field of Foreign Economic Relations, which represent the political-ideological basis for their action within organizations of associated labor, bodies and agencies, organizations and institutions in this field concerning implementation of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program.

On the basis of what has been stated the system of foreign economic relations, including the foreign exchange regime as well, must operate primarily in the direction of instilling in producers a long-term income-oriented motivation to export and exerting economic pressure on them to do so. A stable basis for expansion of exports can be created by constantly strengthening the competitiveness of the Yugoslav economy, through changes in the overall production orientation toward creation of conditions for continuous and quality growth of exports, and through other changes in the way economic activity is conducted on the basis of implementation of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. The entire economy, and not only the economy, must be so organized and economically motivated and compelled to see a growth of exports and a strengthening of overall economic cooperation with the world, and especially with the developing countries, as its road toward more intensive and stable development and toward the possibility of more complete inclusion in world scientific-technological progress. This orientation makes it necessary to build and consistently implement a single strategy for the country's development and to carry out anti-inflation policy with greater determination.

#### Principal Emphasis on the Entirety of the System

The future development of the system of foreign economic relations, including the foreign exchange system, should be bound up with the additional work on the entire economic system, attention being paid in this to the real processes taking place in the entirety of social reproduction. The entire economic system must be bent toward carrying out the established strategy of more intensive and optimum inclusion of the economy in the international division of labor and pursuit of the interest of the working people in associated labor in taking command of all flows of social reproduction and all the conditions and results of their labor. It is especially important in that context to ensure harmonious operation of the system of foreign credit relations and the foreign exchange system. The present system of foreign economic relations, as is also the case with other segments of the economic system, must be free to the maximum of administrative interference. The advancement of foreign economic relations and more effective inclusion in the international division of labor require not only changes in the system, but also a determined and radical straightening out of conditions and relations in the economy in the direction of greater freedom for larger and more optimum production and better-quality exports. If all this is to be achieved, all the necessary solutions have to be adopted as soon as possible in the domain of foreign exchange and foreign trade transactions, and at the same time other key changes have to be carried out in the economic system and development policy.

The entire economic system and all its parts must be aimed at augmenting exports on permanent and stable foundations. Likewise development policy and



the measures of current economic policy, and indeed the entire activity of the subjective factors, must be directed toward achieving ambitious goals of the orientation toward exports and toward linkage of the Yugoslav economy on behalf of greater effectiveness and the greatest optimality of representation on foreign markets. Within that framework the foreign exchange regime, aimed at normative regulation of international payments and collections and other relations between domestic and foreign economic entities, should guarantee effective establishment of relations among organizations of associated labor, the authorized banks and other participants in foreign business transactions which will guarantee all the socially justified economic conditions and incentives for augmented exports, for successful accomplishment of the policy of stabilization in the domain of foreign economic relations on a permanent basis. Those are the principal prerequisites for increasing the net foreign exchange result through a further growth of exports and economically optimum import substitution and for achieving more effective inclusion of our economy in the international division of labor. It is especially important here that the solutions in the system of foreign economic relations, and especially in the foreign exchange system and policy in the transitional period, be so conceived that together with solutions in the economic system they facilitate the creation of the material and other conditions for applying the permanent solution as effectively and rapidly as possible.

The battle for stabilization in the domain of foreign economic relations, as indeed throughout the entire economy, is won through further development of the system of socialist self-management, through successful exercise of the rights and discharge of the responsibilities of the workers in associated labor as set forth in the constitution, through more rapid pooling of labor and capital, through a strengthening of qualitative factors in the conduct of economic activity, through establishment of financial discipline within the country, by reducing inflation to economically tolerable limits, by establishing a single and stable system of valuation, by establishing linkage based on production and income, and by strengthening reproductive--and thereby also competitive--capability of organizations of associated labor on the world market.

In the light of the fact that this domain of economic life constitutes an integral and inseparable part of the country's overall economic system and that the system of reproduction is undivided, and in light of the debate which has taken place so far on the changes of foreign economic relations, there has never been a question for the LCY that the provisions of the SFRY Constitution concerning the single currency should be consistently implemented so that the dinar performs all the functions of money on the undivided Yugoslav market.

## I

Proceeding from the basic principles and assessments that have been set forth, and mindful that the debates of the Draft of the Law in the Domain of Foreign Economic Relations have demonstrated the indispensable need to overcome as rapidly as possible the political-ideological differences that have been manifested with respect to carrying out the strategy for development of the Yugoslav economy set forth in the Long-Range Program, including the orientation toward exports and the system-instituted conditions for implementing it, in

its 20th meeting, held 25 September 1985, the LCY Central Committee set forth the following views which represent the political-ideological basis for activity of the League of Communists and the other subjective socialist forces in development of the system and policy of foreign economic relations.

#### What Is Not at Issue

1. Strengthening the role of the workers in associated labor and in achieving their constitutional status, exercising their constitutional rights and discharging their constitutional obligations and responsibilities in the entire system of social reproduction and a higher degree of self-management organization and pooling of labor and capital have decisive importance to development of foreign economic relations as an integral part of the entire economic system and of the strategy of economic development.

It is extremely important to achieving maximum export results of the entire economy to harmonize individual and common interests in the planning and conduct of foreign economic relations on the basis of a jointly established policy. This is at the same time an important condition for more rapid development of the processes of integration and of optimum division of labor on the undivided Yugoslav market.

2. Devising and administering a policy and system in the field of foreign economic relations as set forth by the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, along with other changes in the economic system, in development policy and economic policy and with intensified activity of the League of Communists and of the other socialist self-management forces should motivate organizations of associated labor and should exert coercive economic pressure for augmentation of exports and for their more effective inclusion in international trade as a whole and thereby, combined with other efforts, for dynamic and harmonious social and economic development. It is also indispensably necessary to maintain and stimulate economically justified and optimum import substitutions. All of this presupposes and requires that organizations of associated labor are themselves interconnected on the basis of income sharing and steadily improve and increase their production and export.

3. On the assumption that the emphasis in the strategy of foreign economic relations and of overall development policy is on the further expansion of exports on the basis of higher productivity of labor and more effective conduct of business and broader pooling of labor and capital on behalf of larger exports, the entire economic system and the goals and measures of development policy and economic policy should be bent toward stabilizing the flows of social reproduction and toward balancing commodity-money relations. This necessarily requires a rigorous tightening of financial discipline and responsibility for business performance.

4. The dinar must perform all the functions of the sole legal tender in the country in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, and sales of goods and services in the country are to be made solely in dinars; accounting of gross income and income within the country must be done exclusively in dinar values. All ties, relations in reproduction, linkages based on income sharing and pooling of labor and capital must be denominated exclusively in dinars.

5. Foreign currencies are to be used exclusively for international payments. Abolishing foreign exchange accounts of organizations of associated labor should facilitate more rapid and permanent circulation of foreign exchange in the channels of the unified foreign exchange market. This will require precise and up-to-date social recordkeeping on exports and imports and the inflow and outflow of foreign exchange pertaining to organizations of associated labor and other social entities. It should also serve as the basis for conducting policy in this area.

6. The motivation of workers in organizations of associated labor to augment economically optimum exports and to become included in the international division of labor more broadly and rapidly and for the largest possible net foreign exchange results, especially in convertible currencies, must be based on maximization of dinar income and other incentives.

7. Conduct of the policy of the real foreign rate of exchange of the dinar consistent with the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program must be one of the basic instruments for stimulating exports and the inflow of foreign exchange. At the same time it is indispensable to take other measures of economic policy to stimulate exports. The measures of economic policy should strengthen the role of the dinar on behalf of the fastest possible attainment of dinar convertibility.

8. The responsibility of all entities for creation of the necessary conditions for the functioning of the undivided foreign exchange market in the framework of the planned and accomplished proportions of Yugoslavia's balance of payments, as an integral part of the undivided Yugoslav market, is to be guaranteed.

## II

The assessments presented and the views on the essence of the system and policy of foreign economic relations constitute the basis for the activity of members of the organizations and leadership of the League of Communists in the struggle to carry out the strategy of faster and more effective inclusion in the international division of labor and for stabilization in the domain of foreign economic relations. All of this is the basis for overcoming the political-ideological differences that have been manifested and for reaching agreement on the remaining outstanding issues related to enactment of laws in this area, which are to be adopted as soon as possible, so that all the implementing regulations would be adopted by the end of this year. This necessitates creating the conditions for immediate continuation and for rapid and successful conclusion of the proceedings to reconcile the views of the republics and provinces in the bodies of the SFRY Assembly concerning the drafts of bills in the domain of foreign economic relations.

### Basis of Action

The LCY Central Committee requires party members in associated labor and in bodies and agencies and organizations in the republics and provinces and in the Federation to contribute through their own activities to finding joint

solutions in the system, in development policy and economic policy, and in implementing them, premising their activity on the following political-ideological views:

1. Guiding and equipping organizations of associated labor for faster and more successful development and thereby also for increasing exports of goods and services onto the foreign market, especially the convertible market, represent the key issue of our entire development; all the solutions related to the system and measures and activity within the framework of development policy should contribute to resolving it. This is especially the task of the system of foreign economic relations, in which the workers in basic and other organizations of associated labor and other forms of worker organization and linkage are to be the principals in the planning and pooling of labor and resources to increase production for export and the inflow of foreign exchange.
2. The basic criteria for solutions in the domain of the system of foreign economic relations and more widely should be movement toward convertibility of the dinar, and all the individual solutions are to create the conditions for the fastest possible application of the permanent foreign exchange system as was envisaged in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program and is basically contained in the bills which have been proposed in this area.
3. All the solutions which are part of the system and the measures of development policy and economic policy which regulate conditions for the export of goods and services must be so conceived as to stimulate optimum exports and to guarantee economic coercion of producers to orient themselves toward larger exports.
4. The transitional solutions must be aimed at stronger stimulation of production for export and exports and gradual accomplishment of the basic commitments of the permanent system of foreign economic relations. It is especially important in this regard to begin the work of the organized foreign exchange market as soon as possible. All measures should prevent unlawful handling of foreign exchange and the use of foreign currencies for socially unacceptable purposes.
5. It is indispensable to set forth in law and the implementing measures of economic policy the conditions that will guarantee on a stable basis the appropriate priority in use of foreign exchange of organizations of associated labor which have been exporting and which have been realizing a larger net foreign exchange result (in establishing the right to import (commodity regime), in establishing socially accepted needs in reproduction, and in recognizing rights to make payments abroad). Those organizations should also be afforded greater opportunities to import the equipment used to improve and expand production for export and to contract indebtedness abroad. It is on that basis that exports, production and imports should be planned and linkage based on income sharing and the pooling of labor and capital be strengthened, with reliance as well on constructive achievements.

This kind of regulation of the status of exporters would enhance their interest and the interest of the economy as a whole, but it would also increase the

obligation and responsibility for exports, but the unlawful use of foreign currencies and cases of disrupting the flows of reproduction have to be prevented. In that way the growth of the inflow of foreign exchange should above all guarantee the best possible functioning of the foreign exchange market and other institutions and solutions so as to pass on as soon as possible from the transitional to the permanent solutions in the system of foreign economic relations.

In accordance with the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program solutions should be found for the status of organizations of associated labor in the system of foreign economic relations which have been prohibited from exporting or whose exports are restricted.

#### Indispensable Conditions

6. In view of the fact that both larger exports and reduction of the pressure of domestic money for purchasing on the foreign exchange market are decisive conditions for the functioning of the new system of foreign economic relations, the following are indispensable:

i. establishment of a program for stimulation of exports and the inflow of foreign exchange from invisibles, the backbone of which must be a vigorous policy of the real rate of exchange of the dinar and relieving production as a whole, especially production for export, of all inadvisable costs and to the greatest possible degree of those social obligations as well which make it uncompetitive on the world market. The conditions need to be furnished for achievement of the export plan set forth in the balance of payments both in their volume and composition;

ii. appropriate measures to stimulate organizations of associated labor in the economy to establish ties and association around export programs;

iii. reexamination of all statutes and conditions in effect which have a bearing on straightening out money flows in the country in order to bring demand within realistic material limits;

iv. the undertaking of the most urgent and resolute measures and activity toward more rapid consolidation of the dinar and foreign exchange transactions of the banks and toward resolving relations between the commercial banks and the National Bank of Yugoslavia on the basis of mutual foreign exchange obligations.

7. It is indispensable to speed up the work of bringing the economic system into conformity with the requirements of economic stabilization, in which enactment of the measures necessary to fundamental reform of the credit-and-monetary and banking system has priority and is aimed at consistent performance of the constitutional role of the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities vis-a-vis the banks and of transforming the commercial banks into effective and responsible financial associations of associated labor. At the same time the activity should also be stepped up to establish development strategy and policy in order to ensure the priority of economically optimum

exports of goods and services and also economically justified and optimum import substitution.

8. It is especially important to create the conditions for strengthening the responsibility of workers in associated labor as the principal entities for the external liquidity of their own organizations of associated labor, the banks and the country as a whole on behalf of the successful functioning of the new foreign exchange system and in order to accomplish the goals and tasks set forth in the policy to normalize the country's external liquidity. The responsibility of the commercial banks should also be strengthened on the basis of their plan. Fully authorized banks must take into account the liquidity of current international payments. It is therefore essential to plan first of all the obligations that have come due as well as other outflows and inflows so as to avoid occurrences of illiquidity of the banks. It is especially important for the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the national banks of the republics and autonomous provinces to consistently perform their functions as set forth in the constitution and discharge their responsibility for the general liquidity in making payments abroad. Above all that means strengthening their responsibility in prompt and consistent application of the measures set forth in law whereby the goals and tasks of foreign exchange policy are achieved, and also the effectiveness of their functions of supervision over the implementation of that policy by the commercial banks and organizations of associated labor.

9. It is indispensable to take effective measures to reduce administrative intervention and to eliminate the numerous intermediaries in establishment of mutual economic ties between economic entities in conducting foreign business transactions. Associated labor within the system of economic chambers, as general associations of Yugoslavia's economy, should develop chambers as places for organization, agreement and understanding concerning all essential matters in the domain of foreign economic relations, especially in the preparation and fulfillment of export production programs and export programs and in the preparation of the commodity regimes, both with respect to their protective function and also with respect to the instruments of payments-balance restrictions, paying particular attention in so doing to the need to restructure the economy.

#### Affirmation of the Chamber System

10. Along with the measures of supporting exports, there is a need for changes in the system of foreign exchange and foreign trade transactions and an organized action in the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia to combat cases of disloyal competition, spontaneity and lack of organization in exports and in our offering of goods and services on foreign markets. In that context the views of the LCY Central Committee adopted concerning the need for effective organization of associated labor within the country and in representation abroad should be implemented consistently. It is indispensable to take decisive steps so as to consistently implement the views adopted concerning optimization of the foreign trade network abroad as soon as possible.

11. In future only those economic entities may borrow abroad which can guarantee repayment of debts by increasing their exports and inflow of foreign exchange or together with other organizations of associated labor with which they are associated and linked, and for which the authorized bank guarantees repayment of obligations related to the foreign credits. In the case of projects of general interest to the country borrowing will be possible only on the basis of the program for development in the common interest as set forth in the specific acts of the SFRY Assembly, in which the manner of repayment of the foreign debts is also to be set forth.

12. Since reduction of inflation is an essential and immediate prerequisite for augmenting exports, it is especially important to implement more vigorously the anti-inflation policy set forth in the views of the 17th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. Enactment and fulfillment of the program to relieve the burden on the economy is indispensable to strengthening the competitiveness of our economy on world markets. In that context all dilemmas should be resolved with the greatest urgency and the resistance overcome which has cropped up in carrying out the resolutions and views adopted at the 16th and 17th Meetings of the LCY Central Committee.

The LCY Central Committee hereby requires all party members, organizations and leadership bodies of the League of Communists to strive for consistent performance of the tasks which arise out of the views which have been adopted and to contribute in an organized and persistent way to overcoming the present difficulties and to achieving constructive results in foreign economic relations, especially in augmenting exports and strengthening our country's position in the international division of labor.

The LCY Central Committee requires party members in delegate assemblies, proceeding on the basis of these views, to contribute to adoption in the shortest possible time of the legislation and other features crucial to implementing the strategic orientation and policy that have been adopted in the field of foreign economic relations.

The LCY Central Committee calls upon all the working people, organizations of associated labor, economic chambers, and other associations of the economy to make a maximum commitment to setting forth and fulfilling specific export production programs and export programs, to making better use of existing personnel, production capacity and natural resources, and in that way contribute to the stronger augmentation of exports and inflow of foreign exchange, to the creation of more jobs, to halting the drop in the standard of living, and to raising it.

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and the central and provincial committees of the League of Communists shall be required to monitor realization of these views and undertake activities toward their consistent implementation.

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YUGOSLAVIA

QUESTIONS ANSWERED ON OFFICIALS' PAY, PRIVILEGES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1812, 22 Sep 85  
pp 16-18

[Article by Jug Grizelj based on interview with Zoran Miskovic, general secretary of the Federal Executive Council: "Earnings, Housing, Per Diems, Gifts"]

[Text] Following the news--which has been confirmed even by the clarification of the competent staff service--that one group of officeholders of the Vojvodina Executive Council, together with members of their families, used a parlor car for private purposes with special treatment, traveling for their annual vacation to the Executive Council's vacation resort in Lovran, discussions about the rights and privileges of officeholders and also about their general status have once again flared up in the public at large.

This was an occasion for NIN to call upon the Federal Executive Council to present to the public a detailed picture of how public resources are used in the agencies of the federal administration. How high are the personal incomes of federal officials, what rights do they have in the use of automobiles, airplanes and special trains and railroad cars, how are they furnished housing, and what rents do they pay, are there vacation resorts which have a special status--and special rates--which can be used only by federal officials, and what vacation resorts are those, are there such things as supplements paid to officials, what are the per diems of federal officials within the country and abroad, who is entitled to receive what sort of gifts....

The person responsible in the Federal Executive Council for use of the budgeted resources of the federal administration is Zoran Miskovic, general secretary of the Federal Executive Council. Responding readily to NIN's request that he give a detailed clarification of all the items of expenditures of officeholders and employees of the federal administration, Zoran Miskovic insisted on several facts in the introductory part of his explanation: First, he says, total expenditures for personal incomes and social service expenditures of all employees of the federal administration amount to 2.5 percent of the federal budget, and more than 80 percent of these expenditures consist of the expenditures [original reads "income"] of the Federal Customs Administration, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the Federal Civil Aeronautics Administration, and so on. Those departments account for about 13,000 of the approximately 15,000 persons employed in federal administrative agencies.



## Who Drives Official Automobiles?

And second, the general secretary of SIV [Federal Executive Council] categorically asserts that all the public resources are used exclusively for official purposes, and that on the basis of legal authority. "During my term of office I have not signed a single order for use of an automobile, airplane or train for private purposes, nor has any official ever asked me to."

Who is entitled to use an official automobile, which automobile and for what purposes?

In the garage of the Federal Executive Council, which also serves a number of federal institutions (it possesses about 100 automobiles) such as the Constitutional Court, the Federal Court, the Council of the Federation and certain others, automobile use is strictly defined: Only the 28 members of SIV, the 14 deputy federal secretaries and the general secretary of SIV are entitled to request cars, but then only for official use, without the approval and order of the general secretariat of SIV.

All other officials (assistant secretaries, federal undersecretaries, and so on) and employees of the federal administration request permission for use of official automobiles--and that only in cases when they are going on an official errand (within Belgrade) off the route of the minibus which shuttles all day long between the Federal Office Building and the Yugoslav Assembly.

Pursuant to decisions of the Federal Executive Council, in recent years not a single Mercedes nor any other foreign vehicle has been purchased. The only Mercedeses used are those which were already there. When any of these is withdrawn from service, "Idas" and "Stojadins" are purchased.

## How Is Large Is SIV's Air Fleet?

What airplanes does the Federal Executive Council have in its its air service, and how are they used?

SIV has in its air service only two Learjets (small seven-seat planes), while the two Boeings which were used previously have been sold to domestic carriers. (The air service has a total work force of 14.)

The decree on use of air transport, and also the regulations which elaborate this in detail, provide that members of SIV and other officials shall use the airplanes of domestic carriers exclusively in domestic and international travel, and only in exceptional cases, when a domestic carrier does not travel some remote route, may a foreign carrier be used. The Learjets may be used only in emergencies (natural disasters and the like), and then only with permission of the general secretary.

Only the chairman of the Federal Executive Council has the right to travel first-class on domestic and international lines for official travel, while all other members of the SIV and other officials travel tourist. For example, we were told in the office of the general secretary, SIV chairwoman Milka Planinc

traveled in a JAT [Yugoslav Airlines] plane in making an official visit to the United States, and that is the way she travels whenever possible.

[Box, p 16]

#### Personal Incomes

SIV chairman	104,305
SIV vice chairman	93,875
SIV member	85,530
SIV general secretary	83,444
Federal counselor, director of the Federal Customs Administration, director of the Federal Institute for International Scientific, Educational and Cultural, and Technical Cooperation, director of the Federal Bureau of Statistics	81,358
Deputy general secretary of SIV	79,272
Assistant secretary, directors of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations	75,100
Directors of specialized staff services of SIV	73,014
Federal undersecretaries and chairmen of federal committees	73,014
Other assistants	70,927
Advisers of SIV chairman	73,104
Counselors	66,755

#### Who Travels in the Parlor Cars?

Rail vehicles, the "Blue Train," parlor cars--and so on? We put the question to Zoran Miskovic:

"Last winter, when several locomotives of the Yugoslav Railroads were out of service because of the low temperatures, it was rumored that SIV, whose rail service has about 40 locomotives, did not want to set aside a single one for public transportation. Is that true?"

"The Federal Executive Council has a rail service consisting of a total of one locomotive and two cars (and a staff of 16). That is all that is left of the 'special rail fleet.' We sold all the rest to the railroad transportation enterprises all over Yugoslavia. Although the decree on the use of rail vehicles provides that this small train of ours may be used for official purposes, the fact is that in the last 2 years, since I have been in this job, I have not had occasion even to look at a request, much less approve the use of a special train or parlor car with special treatment. It follows from this that SIV could not, of course, have loaned anyone 40 locomotives which it does not have."

The general secretary had no comment--nor denial--concerning our information that in various railroad transportation enterprises in Yugoslavia some kind of special trains have been painted blue which, so we are told by railroad people, really do give the impression that parlor cars are traveling our rails constantly. Yet the general secretary says that he does not even have any information about who has how many parlor cars at their disposition in the republics and provinces or on the railroads.

The members of the Federal Executive Council and other officials are entitled to ride first-class and sleeping cars when they use regular trains, as do most employees in associated labor in Yugoslavia.

What are the personal incomes of the members of the Federal Executive Council and other officials in the federal administration?

The general secretary placed at NIN's disposal data as of 16 September 1985: the chairwoman of the Federal Executive Council had a personal income on that date of 104,305 dinars (that is a total of 122,000 when past labor is added). The vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council will on 1 October have a base pay of 93,875 dinars (that is, 106,000-110,000 dinars including past labor). The members of the Federal Executive Council have a personal income of 85,550 dinars (89,000-99,000 dinars with past labor), and the general secretary of SIV 83,444 (88,000 including past labor), and so on.

The members of the Federal Executive Council, Miskovic says, do not receive any sort of reduced rates (not even the compensation for hot meals) nor any sort of other official supplements, nor do they divide up surpluses. Those members of SIV who do not live in Belgrade--they represent about half of the members--do receive a supplement for separation from family amounting to between 15,000 and 20,000 dinars a month!

How High Is the Rent Paid by Officials?

How do members of the Federal Executive Council and other officials solve housing problems?

In the words of the general secretary, the members of the Federal Executive Council and other officials in the federal administration receive socially owned housing through the Community of Interest for Housing of Federal Bodies and Agencies. In answer to the explicit question from NIN whether federal officials pay rent according to the same criteria and at the same level as other citizens, he stated categorically that there is no difference whatsoever. Since for a number of years now there have been no officials whose rent is paid by the "state"--the villas on Dedinje which certain officials scrambled for in earlier years became very unpopular, and the offering of such villas in exchange for smaller housing units in the bodies and agencies of the Federation is large, but the demand for them is small or nonexistent. Zoran Miskovic refers to the ever higher rents as the explanation for this.

Aside from the socially owned housing units, there is also the official housing. All those officials in the federal administration who do not live permanently in Belgrade are entitled to those housing units, but they are required to give them up no later than 1 month after leaving the office on the basis of which they moved into the official housing. Most of the officials in the federal administration use two-room or three-room official apartments (they naturally keep the housing which they have in their respective republics and provinces), on which they pay rent, heat, utilities and depreciation, and indeed even rent on the furniture, at the same scales as all other citizens. These costs are reimbursed from the supplement for separation from family.

The Federal Executive Council has two residences at its disposition, but both are used exclusively to house foreign statesmen. Not even Milka Planinc, chairwoman of SIV, has a residence, but she lives in an official apartment--for which she also pays the same rent as all other citizens, Miskovic said.

Who Can Go to Brioni Today?

How many vacation resorts do members of the Federal Executive Council and other officials in the federal administration have at their disposal today, and what are the prices in those vacation resorts?

"The Federal Executive Council does not have a single vacation resort at its disposition, nor does any federal administration. All the former vacation resorts were turned over to the republics and provinces for use, and most of them today are used commercially, as indeed in the case of Brioni. So, if some federal official wants to vacation this year in Brioni, he has to pay the same commercial price paid by any other Yugoslav who spent his vacation this summer on those famous islands of ours."

What are the per diems of members of the Federal Executive Council?

The general secretary of SIV showed us the Regulation on Official Domestic and Foreign Travel, in which it is evident that the per diems of members of the Federal Executive Council and other officials in the federal administration are 1,500 dinars within the country (plus hotel, but not to exceed 3,600 dinars). Per diems abroad vary, of course, from country to country, but they are exactly the same as for all those employed in associated labor who travel abroad on official business. That is why there have been cases recently when those members of the Federal Executive Council who have to travel most frequently on official business have more and more been staying with their Yugoslav friends, with ambassadors or business people and "cutting costs."

What sort of gifts are federal officials entitled to receive?

According to the decree which is now being prepared (which will soon be enacted) federal officials can receive gifts within the country and abroad up to the amount of 20,000 dinars, but they are required to turn over the gifts to the competent federal fund as soon as they return to the country. Federal officials may keep souvenirs, but only if they have symbolic value. As far as we were able to understand the intentions of the new decree, federal officials will have to turn over to the competent fund even, say, something that is slightly more expensive, a lighter, if they receive it as a gift.

"I take moral and material responsibility for every one of the figures I have given above. In this connection I would like to say the following: When it comes to the personal incomes of members of the Federal Executive Council, we are obviously dealing here with a deliberate policy that body is conducting. To be specific, at this moment the personal incomes of the chairman, vice chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council, federal counselors, federal secretaries, the chairmen of federal committees, and also the officials and management personnel appointed by the Federal Executive Council are

56 percent lower than the personal incomes that might be awarded to those persons under the provisions of the Social Compact on the Bases and Scales for Determination of Personal Incomes of Federal Officials."

#### The Personal Incomes of the Chairman of SIV

For example, under that compact, which calls for the monthly personal income of an official to be determined on the basis of coefficients which are applied to the average personal income of persons employed in the economy of the SFRY in the previous 6-month period, the personal income of the chairman of SIV could be 150,000 dinars (instead of 104,000), assuming past labor is not included, the vice chairman of SIV 135,000 (instead of 93,875), members of SIV 123,000 (instead of 85,530). It is obvious, then, that we are not talking about anything else but a moral act, which is, of course, quite as it should be.

However, when it comes to the personal incomes of a sizable number of specialists in the Federal Executive Council, I am afraid that if we continue with this practice it will become very difficult for us to get creative and professionally competent people such as the federal administration needs, and by the same token the anticipated and desired transformation of this federal institution. Today if you want to bring any specialist with experience, an engineer, economist, professor, and so on, into some administrative agency, you will immediately face the fact that his personal income in associated labor is at least between 2 and 3 million (old dinars) higher than what the federal administration can offer him.

Finally, we asked the general secretary of SIV to tell us whether these criteria for the use of public property also apply to the republic, provincial and opstina administrative agencies. The general secretary said that he knows nothing whatsoever about that, nor is he aware that there have been analyses, since this is not in the jurisdiction of the Federal Executive Council and federal administration.

[Box, p 18]

#### Abuse of Housing

In response to the question: In what phase is the well-known case of the investigation of abuses of the housing stock of the Federation and the misuse of a certain number of housing units belonging to that stock (bequeathal to children, grandchildren, and so on), Zoran Miskovic said that the entire matter had been studied in detail and that an exhaustive report had been presented on this to the Yugoslav Assembly, which had accepted it in its entirety. It was a question of abuses of the right of tenancy of a number of former officials of the Federation in earlier convocations, which the present SIV, which took office in 1982, has nothing to do with at all. The competent authorities, by order of the SFRY Assembly, are taking all steps to restore the housing stock of the Federation to its previous condition and to preserve it from any new violation whatsoever and any unlawful use, so that this case, said the general secretary of SIV, can be considered to have been ended once and for all.

Since 1982, Zoran Miskovic said, there have been no cases of misuse of public housing, since this entire matter is now covered by complete regulations, whose enforcement is monitored regularly.